NATIONAL REVIEW

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February 8, 1956

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

The Case of the Secret Informer

or

The Terrible Disappointment

of Joseph L. Rauh

(U.S. v. PAUL H. HUGHES)

Articles and Reviews by · · · · RICHARD M. WEAVER

FRANK S. MEYER · J. B. MATTHEWS · WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

ROGER BECKET · CHARLES S. HYNEMAN · WILBUR BURTON

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from WASHINGTON *straight*

A NEWSLETTER

SAM M. JONES

Benson's Friends

The time-tested friends of Edgar Benson, who have given him all-out support through his embattled term of office, would rather see the Secretary resign than compromise his principles. They believe a showdown is imminent. Benson has not changed his views; but, in recent weeks, greatly intensified political pressures for more direct aid to farmers have bypassed hitherto invulnerable defenses. Farm delegations now skip the Department of Agriculture and go straight to the White House. As his friends view it, Benson must continue to oppose unsound programs—or get out.

Benson's Critics

Mr. Edward R. Murrow presented his TV version of the American Farm Problem in the setting of drought-stricken Corning, Iowa, allegedly a typical American farm community. A forced foreclosure is taking place, and Dale Anderson (Korean War veteran) sees his favorite shovel sold for $2.50 (he had paid $7 for it) and his baby's crib knocked down for practically nothing. The villain of the piece is that old Scrooge, Ezra Taft Benson. After 55 minutes of the farmer's plight, Benson is given five minutes to show cause why sentence of dismissal should not be imposed. The Democratic National Committee will see to it that Mr. Murrow's "documentary" will live until November.

Foreign Aid vs. Domestic Odds

The Administration hopes to reconvert Senator George to the internationalist team, but a more realistic element (the National Press Club's odds-makers) is offering two to one that Herman Talmadge will defeat the Senator in the Georgia primaries. Mr. George's only hope, it is said, is to extricate himself from identification with foreign-giveaway programs.

Herter is Ready

The Herter Bandwagon is ready to go—when Ike retires. The Massachusetts Governor will be billed as the perfect facsimile of President Eisenhower: middle of the road, internationalist, and Ike's friends are his friends—Dewey, Dulles, Brownell and the Chase Manhattan Bank.

They'll do it Every Time

Secretary Dulles failed to check with Senate Republican leaders before appointing Robert Bowie Assistant Secretary of State. Bowie, chief of the Department's policy-planning staff, is allegedly on record in favor of Red China's admission to the U.N. Senators Knowland and Bridges (who have tried long and unsuccessfully to make Dulles clear with the Hill before announcing potentially controversial appointments) have moved to prevent Senate confirmation.

Stassen's "Team"

Senator George H. Bender, who will need any Administration help he can get in his forthcoming race for re-election against Ohio's Governor Lausche, appeared as the sole defender of Harold E. Stassen when Stassen was charged with trying to "hinder and impede" a Senate Investigations Subcommittee. Bender filed a one-man minority dissent to a majority report that cites "strong evidence of collusion in a Pakistan grain-bin project which Stassen should have detected, and against which he should have taken precautions" (during his service as Foreign Aid Administrator). Mr. Stassen, who cannot count many friends among conservative Republicans, brushed off the charges as "an unjustifiable political attack"—and ignored Bender.

What Wilson Defends

Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson contended that General Ridgway had "hat trouble" because of his dual role as Chief of Staff of the Army and as a member of the Joint Chiefs of staff. With congressional tempers inflamed, Wilson's remark gave impetus to Kefauver's demand for a full dress investigation of the military establishment. In another statement to the House Armed Services Subcommittee, Wilson carried the ball for the welfare state objectives still further by asking Congress to create a $76 billion fund to provide health insurance for dependents of servicemen. (Members of the armed forces "cannot be expected to do their best," Wilson declared, "if they are worried about the health of their dependents.")

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The WEEK

The Editor-in-Chief of *Life* (and *Time* and *Fortune* and *Architectural Forum* and *Sports Illustrated*), Mr. Henry R. Luce, has graciously bailed out the Secretary of State. The most heated national and international debate on U.S. foreign policy in years was, it seems, merely about a kind of printing mistake in *Life*: the notorious article, says Mr. Luce with flamboyant regret, should have been presented as "our own review of the historical record," based on just a "background conversation" with Mr. Dulles, rather than as the Secretary's self-evaluation. We are shattered by the admission that *Life*, after twenty years of omniscience, is *capable* of making a mistake. We deem it healthier, for *Life's* proverbial pride as well as U.S. foreign policy, to assume that Mr. Luce was a trifle too generous and Mr. Dulles *meant* what the article said.

President Eisenhower's Economic Report asserts: "We have succeeded in expanding the scope of free enterprise, and yet increased the sense of security that people need in a highly industrialized age." This is followed by twelve recommendations. One says taxes must not be cut, the other eleven are for greater government activities in banking, mortgage-lending, insurance, grain trading and exporting. All these activities were not long ago within the scope of free enterprise. If Mr. Eisenhower thinks that Hillary and Tensing climbed Mt. Everest by simultaneously moving their base camp back toward New Delhi, we must regretfully inform him that they didn't.

The President, at his last press conference, gave a thoughtful reply to a question concerning the constitutional problem of handling Presidential "disability." He noted the incompleteness of the relevant provision in the Constitution; and he urged a thorough inquiry by Congress. His attitude should encourage the congressional action initiated several months ago by Representative Emmanuel Celler, Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee—action to be taken at this session of Congress.

At a recent Rotary Club lunch in New York Mr. George Meany, head of the new AFL-CIO, went after American businessmen who wish a relaxation

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of the trade embargo against the Communist bloc. These businessmen are vehemently against Communism in America, said Mr. Meany, but find no inconsistency in building up the center of Communist power. "If Moscow stopped training and supporting Communist conspirators the Communist movement here would go out of business overnight." Mr. Meany is proposing that we should stop exhausting ourselves by slapping mosquitoes, and consider draining the swamp where they breed.

Mr. Harry P. Cain, whom the Subversive Activities Control Board has just certified as absolutely "not biased," may have an open mind all right—but perhaps not much of it. In 1949, he called the Pension Union "a notorious Communist front," but in 1955 he described it, in *Coronet* magazine, as a fine organization that merely "worked for free milk and pensions." We do not know which statement was correct. But we do know that a man who made both, and neither with much evidence, is unstable (to say the least). He is, moreover, clearly a displaced person if he happens to be a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board. Worse, Mr. Cain is to pass official judgment on the very same Pension Union which he has twice prejudged. Frankly, Mr. Cain should resign from the Board and, maybe, work for free milk and pensions.

Now that, to no one's particular surprise, taxes have proved somewhat unpopular in France, there is a minor European stampede to simulate Monsieur Poujade. A former Member of Parliament, Mr. W. J. Brown, has just founded a "Committee for Reduction of Taxes." Similar movements have sprung up in Italy, Denmark and Greece. And, indeed, as long as our Department of State is delighted to pick up the world's tabs, a European willing to pay taxes ought to have his head examined.

A word of warning for the resident chief agent of Soviet Intelligence: don't take the Alsop brothers too seriously. True, they are old hands at baring Washington's Innermost Secrets, so their recent assertion that it is "highly unlikely" that we will move forcefully to protect Quemoy and Matsu against the Reds is tempting. In a way, as tempting as Dean Acheson's statement in January 1950 to the effect that our defense perimeter lies East of Korea. We went on to fight for Korea in spite of Mr. Acheson, and we may fight for Quemoy-Matsu even at the risk of proving the Alsops wrong. What is more, this time we might decide to win the skirmish.

Mr. Jay G. Sourwine brought to the Senate Judiciary Committee (and its Subcommittee on Internal Security) a legal mind that was the delight of all who saw it in action. Furthermore, for years, the night-shift elevator operators of the Senate Office Building have been repeating, "There's nobody left here but Mr. Sourwine and us." But, above all, Mr. Sourwine has shown he senses the political nature of the fight: it is important that Congress investigate—but still more so that the Justice Department have the political will to prosecute those whom the investigations turn up. Mr. Sourwine has now announced he will run for the late Senator McCarran's seat. Having been McCarran's most trusted assistant, Mr. Sourwine, if elected, will be a powerful force in reconstituting the urgently needed anti-Communist bloc in the Senate. Happily, he seems likely to win both the Democratic nomination and the Nevada Senatorial election.

Thus spake Communist Czechoslovakia's President, Professor Antonin Zapotocky, to the Union of Czechoslovak Writers: "We are creating socialism and we must accomplish our task. To this fundamental aim everything must be subordinated, even literary and artistic activity. That is what gives many artists stomach ache. They wish us all the best; they are even for socialism; they are not enemies of the regime. They want socialism; but they say, 'the only thing we ask for is complete freedom for art, so that we can do what we like.' To that I reply: such freedom we will not give them, because then we could not achieve socialism. We have to subordinate all artistic activities to the introduction of socialism. That is an open and honest statement." Mr. Zapotocky is, this time, indeed honest. Artists who insist on creative freedom, and yet crave "the discipline" of socialism, are simply incoherent fools.

Waiting in the Wings

At his Key West interview, the President spoke of the disturbance, to the world as well as to the nation, that is caused by a sudden midterm change in the Chief Executive's office. Furthermore, at the first full-scale press conference since his illness, Mr. Eisenhower read the following from his prepared statement:

"It would be idle to pretend that my health can be wholly restored to the excellent state in which the doctors believed it to be in mid-September. . . . My future life must be carefully regulated to avoid excessive fatigue."

He said nothing further then (or in his address, the next night, to the Republican rallies) to mitigate the implicit finality of this self-diagnosis. In that same week, a statistical analysis published by *U.S. News and World Report* showed that the chances that a man in the 60-69 year bracket will live more

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than five years after a heart attack are five in eleven.

It follows that, if Mr. Eisenhower were to run again, he would be deliberately risking the odds-on probability of a midterm change, the grave effects of which he had stressed; and he would be deliberately committing the country to a Chief Executive who would have to fill the most exacting and exhausting job in the world with permanently impaired health and a permanent need "to avoid excessive fatigue."

In general there are no limits to what power can do to the human soul; but in Mr. Eisenhower's specific case we cannot believe that he would perform an act so irresponsible as would be, by the implication of his own analysis, his running for a second term.

The race for the Republican nomination is day by day speeding up. But until the President openly announces his negative decision, the progress of the race is obscured by a heavy fog.

Senator Knowland alone has been frank. He has unequivocally announced his candidacy, contingent on the President's withdrawal. But the formal silence of the President prevents him from going to the voters in fair and open competition.

Vice President Nixon cannot very well make a public declaration; but his candidacy is not in doubt.

The so-called "Liberal wing" of the Republican Party has been operating under heavy wraps—in part because of its commitment to an "Eisenhower *mystique*," in part because it seems to prefer to get the problem settled by concealed maneuvers rather than by direct confrontation with the public. With open declarations and primary filings ruled out, the standard technique is kite-flying by sympathetic columnists.

Earl Warren's was the first name thus written in the electoral sky. He remains the preferred candidate of the Liberal wing, but he apparently *means* his disinclination to draw the Supreme Court into politics.

Three other names are now fluttering at the head of the string: Harold Stassen, Gov. Christian Herter of Massachusetts, Milton Eisenhower. But, in spite of the best columnar efforts, enthusiasm for any of these three remains somewhat confined.

Whatever merits as Presidential candidates these men (and any other aspirants) may have, the voters have a right to judge them. In his press conference Mr. Eisenhower declared: "Freedom to select, nominate and elect a candidate to public office is basic to our American political system. Because I deeply believe that every citizen should have the widest possible choice in expressing his own preference in such matters, I would hope that the accident of my illness . . . would not have the effect of interfering with the privilege of every member of our party to express his preference for the Presidential candidate of his choice."

If the President means the words he has used, it is time for him to speak.

Communists Are Communists

A month ago, in our heartless way, we commented rather adversely on a "Christmas petition" whereby Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and her entourage (Norman Thomas, Henry Steele Commager, Elmer Rice, etc.) begged Executive clemency for the Communist "Smith Act victims." We remarked, in the course of our dissent, that "the Communists are unrepentant, and, on their release, will predictably return to the job of subverting our society."

As a prediction this was, we admit, like foretelling cold weather in Antarctica. But since Mrs. Roosevelt and her friends never cease reminding the public that they do not keep track of Communists or Communist organizations, we thought that we would bring to their attention news which should do their warm hearts good.

On December 31, two of the most prominent Smith Actors—John Gates and Eugene Dennis—completed their sentences (of prison and subsequent restricted parole). On January 2 (the 1st being a holiday), Comrade Dennis took up his active duties as General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, and Comrade Gates resumed editorship of the Party's official organ, the *Daily Worker*.

Meanwhile, American civilians and soldiers imprisoned in Red China are still imprisoned. Maybe, three or four Christmases from now, Mrs. Roosevelt will get around to drawing up a clemency petition for *them*.

Two Elder Statesmen

Two well-known elder statesmen have engaged in a fiery public brawl, and we are delighted to declare our complete neutrality.

The incident began with a surprise left hook from Mr. Harry S. Truman who, though no musical subject was involved, seemed good and mad at his opponent, Mr. Bernard M. Baruch. The fisticuff took place in the *New York Times*, where Mr. Truman is publishing an interesting piece of impressionistic writing, called *Mr. Truman's Memoirs*. (It's quite readable fiction, and we are unhappy whenever we miss an installment.) Meandering through an alleged recollection of the forties, the author was sounding off on what the President of the U. S. was doing to the atom —when who should enter the stage but Bernie Baruch?

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Now, usually, when Bernie Baruch enters the stage, the show stops and everybody pays homage to the elder statesmen's elder statesman. It's an American habit. But when Mr. Truman intends to get ornery he doesn't give a hoot about American habits, and so he went and kicked Mr. Baruch right in the nose:

"His [Baruch's] concern, in my opinion, was really whether he would receive public recognition . . . . Baruch is the only man to my knowledge who has built a reputation on a self-assumed unofficial status as 'adviser.'"

Baruch staggered, but he did not go down for the count. Rather, he turned around and let Mr. Truman have it:

"Mr. Truman was a better President than he is an historian. When the full story of the drafting of our atomic energy proposals is made public, including all and not a part of the facts in Mr. Truman's possession, history will show no basis for this display of personal spite."

Now the younger blades in the audience might think this a rather lame riposte, but any older sporting man could tell them that this was considered *the* grand style in the days when Mr. Baruch was at his prime. Be that as it may, we confess to being pleased with the manly exchange. And, as we said, we take no sides. Mr. Truman's intimately knowing remarks on Mr. Baruch's overrated performance as "the adviser of Presidents," though snide, sound rather convincing. On the other hand, what Mr. Baruch says about Mr. Truman (and what he pointedly omits to say) is correct on the face of it. More power to both —at least for the duration of this particular bout!

To the 'Minneapolis Star'

The *Minneapolis Star* is a newspaper whose anxiety to torment anti-Communists is well-nigh obsessive. The provocation becomes absolutely irresistible when the opportunity arises to attack, simultaneously, a congressional committee. So, when the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee published its excellent handbook on the Communist Party, the *Minneapolis Star* did a spectacular double *salto*—a lead editorial of flaming protest against Senators impudent enough and wasteful enough to publish yet another book about the Communist conspiracy. The *Minneapolis Star's* main complaint: "Nowhere in the handbook's 100 pages did we find any new information on the subject, no important material which has not already appeared."

The *Minneapolis Star* does not regularly apply such exacting standards of originality—seldom, for example, when yet another book attacking the internal security system appears. Nonetheless, we were impressed by the complaint, went over the handbook, and would like to ask the *Minneapolis Star*:

1. What publication other than the handbook carries a detailed analysis of the differences between the Communist Party and our legitimate American political parties?
2. Where else have you seen a detailed study of the Communist hierarchy?
3. Where else have you seen printed the official and confidential questionnaire given out by the Communist Party to its members?
4. Where else have you found a chart of Communist Party dues?
5. Where else have you found a study of Communist mailing lists?
6. Where else have you seen an equally useful set of standards for identifying fellow travellers?
7. Where else have you seen a study of Communist Party membership and the CP voting record from 1930 through 1951?
8. What publication has carried a study on "How to Measure Communist Influence?"
9. What publication has carried a list of Soviet writers whose articles appeared in U.S. Communist publications from 1940 to 1954?
10. What other publication in the U.S. has carried the instructions of B. Vassiliev, Soviet specialist on conspiratorial organization?
11. What other American publication has systematically explored the Communist Party's legal devices?
12. What other American publication lists the "Most Typical Sponsors of Front Organizations"?

Not that we expect the *Minneapolis Star* to answer these questions—or to pass up, when the next occasion offers, even a phoney chance to bait congressional anti-Communist investigating committees.

Rue with a Difference

By way of our own special grapevine we learn that the *New York Times* is preparing an all-out attack on Senator Eastland's Subcommittee. Part of this attack will be an "exposure" of Benjamin Mandel, committee research director, as a former Communist. The *Times* will maintain that it has as much right as the committee to employ former Communists.

The difference, of course, is that the *Times* has employed Fifth Amendment Communists, while the committee never has and predictably never will. Mr. Mandel's chief value in exposing the details of the Communist conspiracy, first to the House Committee on Un-American Activities and then to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, has been precisely

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his intimate knowledge of that conspiracy. Because he was once part of it—a fact well-known to those committees and to the FBI—he could be of magnificent service.

The *Times*, on the other hand, has continued to employ ex-Communists who have never given information to the FBI or any other government agency. Furthermore, not a single *Times* ex-Communist has put his knowledge to anti-Communist use. The *Times*' forthcoming "argument," in other words, is not even slick.

On Talking to Ourselves

If there is *one* law we "anarchists" might be tempted to pass if we had the power, it is one that would call for a mandatory death sentence—to be speedily imposed, but slowly executed—for anyone overheard using either of two clichés. Such a law (judging from a recent batch of letters) would, alas, decimate our readership, for the clichés are, *"Let's be constructive"* (see "Arts and Manners," January 18) and *"We're just talking to ourselves."* An attempt to analyze both these observations in a single editorial would be exhausting. So just a doggedly self-controlled word or two about the second:

When one declares oneself to be a conservative, one is not, unfortunately, thereupon visited by tongues of fire that leave one omniscient. The acceptance of a series of premises is just the beginning. After that, we need constantly to inform ourselves, to analyze and to think through our premises and their ramifications. We need to ponder, in the light of the evidence, the strengths and the weaknesses, the consistencies and the inconsistencies, the glory and the frailty of our position, week in and week out. Otherwise we will not hold our own in a world where *informed* dedication, not just dedication, is necessary for survival and growth. As editors of the REVIEW, we turn regularly—and greedily—to the writings of thoughtful men the fruit of whose research and contemplation we publish not merely to seize the opportunity to caress our prejudices. To be sure, we get pleasure from rhetorical and analytical virtuosity. But, primarily, we are concerned with the search for vital information, fresh insights, and advanced analysis. We assume—we have no alternative—that this is also the case with our readers. Those of them who are conservative want access to information and interpretation and analysis. Those of them who are Liberal need to have first-hand knowledge of the workings of the conservative mind.

We give fair warning, then. We are drafting a form letter of reply to those who, in the future, complain that we are talking to ourselves. That letter will ask the critic whether he knows his way about the world of economics as well as Wilhelm Roepke; or the world of culture as well as William Schlamm; whether he knows what is happening in London as intimately as F. A. Voigt, or in Washington as intimately as Sam Jones; whether he keeps track of books as expertly as John Chamberlain, of the Communist line as studiously as James Burnham, of the Liberal line as shrewdly as Willmoore Kendall; whether he has thought as much about the tenets of conservatism as Russell Kirk, whether he has pondered the history and meaning of the Constitution so late into the night as C. D. Williams—for, if so, then we want that man on the staff, and will pay him a ducal salary. His time should not be wasted in the writing of letters—to ourselves.

To the N. Y. TU No. 6

We recently received the following form letter from Mr. William Talbot of the New York Typographical Union No. 6:

"Dear Sir:

"I have before me several copies of printed matter issued by your organization. I feel that you are friendly to organized labor, but note the omission of the New York Allied Printing Trades Council Union Label on the printing referred to.

"The more than 2,000,000 members of labor unions in Greater New York, together with their friends, look for the Allied Union Label on printing. It is the only emblem recognized by the general labor movement as an assurance that the literature was produced under fair conditions in this city.

"I feel that you will appreciate having your attention called to this matter.

"May we anticipate that you will give consideration to this matter in the same friendly spirit in which it is presented, and that you will advise us of your cooperation to our mutual benefit. Very truly yours. . ."

Herewith our answer:

Dear Mr. Talbot:

We checked with the little job printer who printed the material in question. It seems the printers there don't want to join your organization. They are well pleased with the management, and their pay happens to be higher than the pay you insist on for your members.

We know you will be happy to learn that there are evidently other means of assuring that printed literature is produced under fair conditions than the appearance of your label on it.

Friendlily,
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The Liberal Line...

WILLMOORE KENDALL

Two of the Liberal propaganda machine's continuing long-term missions —and *the* two it works away at most noisily—are:

1. The waging of psychological warfare against those forces in American society that are bent on "undermining" our "civil liberties."

2. Keeping the American people "informed" as to the "state" of our civil liberties; or, to put this a little differently, issuing theater-level-communiqués that tell the target audience how the battle against the underminers of our civil liberties is progressing.

Let's speak of the activities relating to the first of these missions (the identification and exposure and discrediting of the enemies of freedom) as Operation One. Let's call the second (the screening and analysis and evaluation of raw intelligence sent back to Theater by a thousand intrepid operatives whose task it is to situate themselves where the civil liberties battle is thickest and the mortality rate highest) Operation Two. And let's, today, bring ourselves up to date a little on both.

Operation Two

The Liberal line in connection with Operation Two has for a long time now been that, despite heroic and herculean efforts by our boys, things are going badly. For one thing, there's the Terror, which has assumed such proportions that during the long hours of the night one lies and wonders when—the security police having discovered another subscriber to the *Nation*, or another chap whose wife's first cousin's grandmother lives next door to a Communist and sometimes lends him her power lawn mower—when they'll come knocking at the door and carry one off to the Senate caucus room.

For another thing, there are those conservatives who (just as we thought they would sooner or later) are at last getting themselves some eggheads of their very own and will, therefore, from now on be able to undermine civil liberties more effectively with each passing day. For still another, there are those bigots who feel called upon to impose standards of so-called decency on the movies, and on the literature moving through the mails—on the extravagant and of course insincere premise that you can have standards and civil liberties both at the same time.

That, I repeat (and a great deal more like that which the reader will remember for himself), has been the Liberal line ever since 1950, the upshot always being that the enemy (the underminers) have just stolen another march on us Liberals; and unless we redouble our efforts our liberties will pretty soon vanish forever; wherefore we must forthwith redouble our efforts.

We may, however, be about to witness a major shift in the machine's position with respect to the state of our civil liberties and what we must do about it. For one of the machine's spokesmen (an old time-server who has never deviated from the Liberal line) has suddenly looked at the civil liberties world and found it—well, not good, but at least pretty good.

"There is no doubt" (it is Mr. Elmer Davis speaking, just after receiving an award for "distinguished service in the area of civil liberties") "there is no doubt that the situation with respect to civil liberties is better than it was two or three years ago."

His heart, to be sure, isn't much in it, and the budget of evidence he offers in support of his thesis is, accordingly, on the slender side: McCarthy has gone "temporarily into obscurity"; two recent court decisions have asserted the principle that a man must be told who is accusing him of what before he is found guilty; the Supreme Court, under Chief Justice Warren, seems disposed to show greater respect for the Bill of Rights than it has shown in recent years; and Mr. Owen Lattimore did get to make that speech up in Hartford, despite the insurance company's effort to silence him.

How little his heart is in it we may best collect from the wisecracks which reveal an animus a good deal more appropriate to the old line than to the new one: "controversial is now a fatal word; accusation is conviction"—so that a man who has successfully cleared himself may get fired because "by clearing himself he has made himself a controversial character." Again: the church that let Mr. Lattimore speak displayed, by comparison with the insurance company that tried to keep him from speaking, "more religion and more common sense." Still again: "Many representatives of the extreme right . . . seem to be more afraid of the 23,000 Communists among us than of the hundreds of millions [!] overseas. I cannot believe, however, that cowardice is an essential part of patriotism." And, finally: "Some of us . . . believe there is enough sense, and enough courage, in the American people to maintain the government which was devised for us by the founding fathers . . . "

But, heart in it or not, Mr. Davis *did* say that things are getting better not worse where civil liberties are concerned. And that isn't all. He said not a word about redoubling our efforts against the enemies of our civil liberties; he merely wants us not to "ease up."

A Changing Line?

Operation One, of course, proceeds as formerly. The line here, as Mr. Davis' wisecracks show, continues to be that the real friends of civil liberties are the Liberals; that our traditional form of government is synonymous with Liberal notions as to how we should handle the problem of internal subversion, and excludes not only McCarthy but *any* effective security measures against the Communists; and that *the* underminers of our civil liberties are the tough anti-Communists, who demand effective anti-Communist security measures.

But the fact that the line under Operation Two seems to be changing suggests that the machine may be in the process of rethinking the whole civil liberties problem. And we shall be well advised to keep an eye on that possibility.

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The Terrible Disappointment of Joseph L. Rauh, Jr.

(U.S. v. PAUL H. HUGHES)

(Last May, a grand jury indicted Paul H. Hughes on six counts of perjury. As this issue of NATIONAL REVIEW *goes to press, the trial is in its tenth day, and may go on another week. Naturally, we reserve judgment on the legal question whether Hughes perjured himself before the grand jury until the jury is heard from.*

Meanwhile, we devote the next pages to reproducing relevant documents and to passing editorial judgment on certain matters that are not in dispute. Below, we print a very tight digest of the incredible Hughes story, and indicate the conflicting testimony that led to the trial.)

Paul H. Hughes is 35 years old. He has spent practically all his adult life in the Air Force. In July of 1953 he resigned from the Air Force after sixteen years of service. Looking around for a job, he approached Donald Surine, Richard O'Melia, and Francis Carr, members of the staff of the Senate Investigations Committee, whose chairman at that time was Senator McCarthy.

He told them hair-raising stories about lax security in a United States Air Force base in Saudi Arabia at which he had recently been stationed. Carr investigated Hughes' allegations by writing to the commandant of the Air Force base in question. On the strength of the commandant's reply, and evidence that corroborated his letter, Carr dismissed the story and never saw Hughes again.

Paul H. Hughes

Hughes approached Surine once again, in the late spring of 1954, during the Army-McCarthy hearings. He approached him again a year later, in the spring of 1955, posing as an agent of the FBI, and asked for, and got, Surine's help in amassing certain data with respect to the Americans for Democratic Action.

Hughes never saw, or spoke to, McCarthy.

Having been rejected by the McCarthy Committee, Hughes came to an understanding with General Cornelius Mara, former aide to President Truman and Harry Vaughan, to whom he represented himself as a disaffected but still active secret investigator on McCarthy's staff. (Mara says that Hughes sought him out. Hughes contends Mara got in touch with him.) General Mara put Hughes in touch with Clayton Fritchie, editor of the *Democratic Digest* and deputy chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Fritchie encouraged Hughes to continue to report on the activities of McCarthy and his staff, and having, over a period of about two months, advanced Hughes a total of $2,300, kept in close touch with him for an entire year.

In passing on money from Fritchie, and, later, from Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., to Hughes, certain formalities seem to have been regularly observed. The money was not classified, by the donors or by the recipient, as "compensation." It was always either "reimbursement" of out-of-pocket expenses, or money advanced to remove Hughes' family from within the immediate reach of Senator McCarthy (Hughes assured Fritchie, et al, McCarthy would almost certainly seek to retaliate against Hughes, when he found out that Hughes had been double-crossing him, by doing physical violence to his family.)

In January of 1954, Hughes went to see Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., chairman of ADA and well-known Washington attorney. He passed off on Rauh the same story given to Mara and Fritchie —and met with even greater success.

Joseph L. Rauh, Jr.

Hughes was to cost Rauh $8,500 before Rauh was through with him. In the next two or three months, during which the anti-McCarthy fever was raging in connection with the Army-McCarthy dispute, Hughes and Rauh met at least fifteen times, and Hughes furnished him — and Fritchie — a torrent of "inside" information having to do with practically everything (*see below*), and on occasion made out-of-town trips to get hold of this information. (Mr. Rauh insists that he was interested *only* in "helping" Hughes to get legally conclusive evidence that McCarthy was breaking federal laws. There is no evidence, however, that

(*Continued on p.* 12)

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Notes on the Cast

PAUL H. HUGHES. Alias "Junius," "Fulton," "Bill Decker." A political pander to professional Liberals.

JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR. Chairman of Americans for Democratic Action. Paymaster to Paul H. Hughes. Liberal lawyer extraordinary. Former Law Secretary, Justice Felix Frankfurter. Washington attorney for Walter Reuther's United Automobile Workers. Onetime (1946) registered legal representative of postwar (Communist-dominated) Polish Government. Attorney for William W. Remington, who was convicted of perjury for denying membership in the Communist Party and was subsequently killed in a prison brawl. In 1949, after an earlier action in which Remington was cleared after a government loyalty review, the *ADA World*, official organ of the ADA, wrote editorially:

"The clearance of William W. Remington of charges of disloyalty to the government was unquestionably the most important and well publicized decision so far handed down by the government's top loyalty review board. This major civil liberties victory can be credited in large measure to Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., Chairman of the ADA National Executive Committee, who undertook the defense of Remington with the same devotion and energy he gives to this organization and to many other liberal causes."

ROBERT EICHHOLTZ. Friend of Joseph L. Rauh, Jr. In Rauh's absence, put up $1,000 at request of Alfred Friendly. This money later paid through Rauh office to Hughes. Washington attorney. Rome representative of the Marshall Plan (ECA) under Truman Administration. Large financial contributor to the ADA.

PAUL PORTER. Friend of Joseph L. Rauh, Jr. In Rauh's absence, put up $1,000 at request of Alfred Friendly. This money later paid through Rauh office to Hughes. Prominent Washington attorney. Former high official Roosevelt and Truman Administrations (Office of Price Administration, War Food Administration, chairman Federal Communications Commission, etc.). Publicity director, Democratic National Committee, 1944. Member of law firm, Arnold, Fortas & Porter, attorneys for Owen Lattimore.

TELFORD TAYLOR. Friend of Joseph L. Rauh, Jr. Attorney. Named in Hughes testimony. Chairman, National Committee for an Effective Congress. National Board Member ADA. Former high official Roosevelt and Truman Administrations (Agricultural Adjustment Administration, Federal Communications Commission, Prosecutor at Nuremburg Trials, etc.). Attorney for Harry Bridges, Junius Scales (convicted organizer for Communist Party of North Carolina).

JAMES A. WECHSLER. Friend of Joseph L. Rauh, Jr. With Rauh, co-founder of Americans for Democratic Action. Editor *New York Post*, aggressive Liberal daily. *Post* cooking editor alleged by Hughes to be McCarthy spy.

MURRAY MARDER. Friend of Joseph L. Rauh, Jr. Reporter for *Washington Post and Times-Herald*, No. 2 Liberal newspaper of U.S. Participated in preparation of stories based on Hughes material.

ALFRED FRIENDLY. Alias "Dinwiddie." Friend of Joseph L. Rauh, Jr. Supervised Hughes' activities during Rauh's European trip, summer 1954. ADA charter member. Managing Editor, *Washington Post and Times-Herald*. Arranged Eichholtz and Porter financial advances to Hughes. Wrote (and then destroyed, according to testimony) stories based on Hughes material.

JAMES RUSSELL WIGGINS. Friend of Joseph L. Rauh, Jr. Executive Editor, *Washington Post and Times-Herald*. Formerly on editorial staff, *New York Times*, No. 1 Liberal newspaper of U.S. Participant in conferences with Hughes.

FONTAINE BRADLEY. Attorney for *Washington Post and Times-Herald*. Present at conferences with Hughes.

PHILIP L. GRAHAM. Friend of Joseph L. Rauh, Jr. Publisher, *Washington Post and Times-Herald*. Directed relations of *Post* with Hughes. Former Law Secretary, Justice Felix Frankfurter. Son-in-law Eugene and Agnes Meyer, owners of *Post* and Liberal publicists.

CLAYTON FRITCHIE. Alias "Ewing." Friend of Joseph L. Rauh, Jr. Active recipient of Hughes documents. Junior paymaster to Hughes. Former Director Office of Public Information, Department of Defense. Former Special Assistant to President Truman. Deputy Chairman, Democratic National Committee. Director, Foreign Policy Association. Editor *Democratic Digest*, official magazine of Democratic Party.

ALICE BAKER. Alias "Doll." On staff, *Democratic Digest*. Typed some Hughes memoranda and reports.

PHILLIP STERN. On staff, *Democratic Digest*. Participated in conferences with Hughes.

CLARK CLIFFORD. Friend of Joseph L. Rauh, Jr. Special counsel and leading adviser to President Truman (1946-50). Consulted by Clayton Fritchie *in re* Hughes operation.

CORNELIUS V. MARA, Brig. General (Ret.). Alias "Yale." Friend of Major General Harry Vaughan. Former Air Force aide of President Truman. Hughes' first receptive confidant.

MRS. CORNELIUS MARA. Wife to General Mara. Typed Hughes' reports from recording discs.

DONALD SURINE. Assistant Counsel to Senate Committee on Government Operations under Senator Joseph R. McCarthy's chairmanship. Talked to Hughes.

RICHARD S. O'MELIA. General Counsel to Senate Committee on Government Operations under Senator McCarthy's chairmanship. Talked to Hughes.

FRANCIS CARR. Former Special Agent, Federal Bureau of Investigation. Executive Director, Senate Committee on Government Operations under Senator McCarthy's chairmanship. On reference by Surine and O'Melia, saw Hughes and, for himself and Committee, rejected any association with him.

SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY. Chairman, Committee on Government Operations (1953-54). Name forged by Hughes in document indicating secret connection.

C. EDWIN GLASS. Special Agent, Federal Bureau of Investigation. Interviewed Hughes in connection with Matusow Grand Jury.

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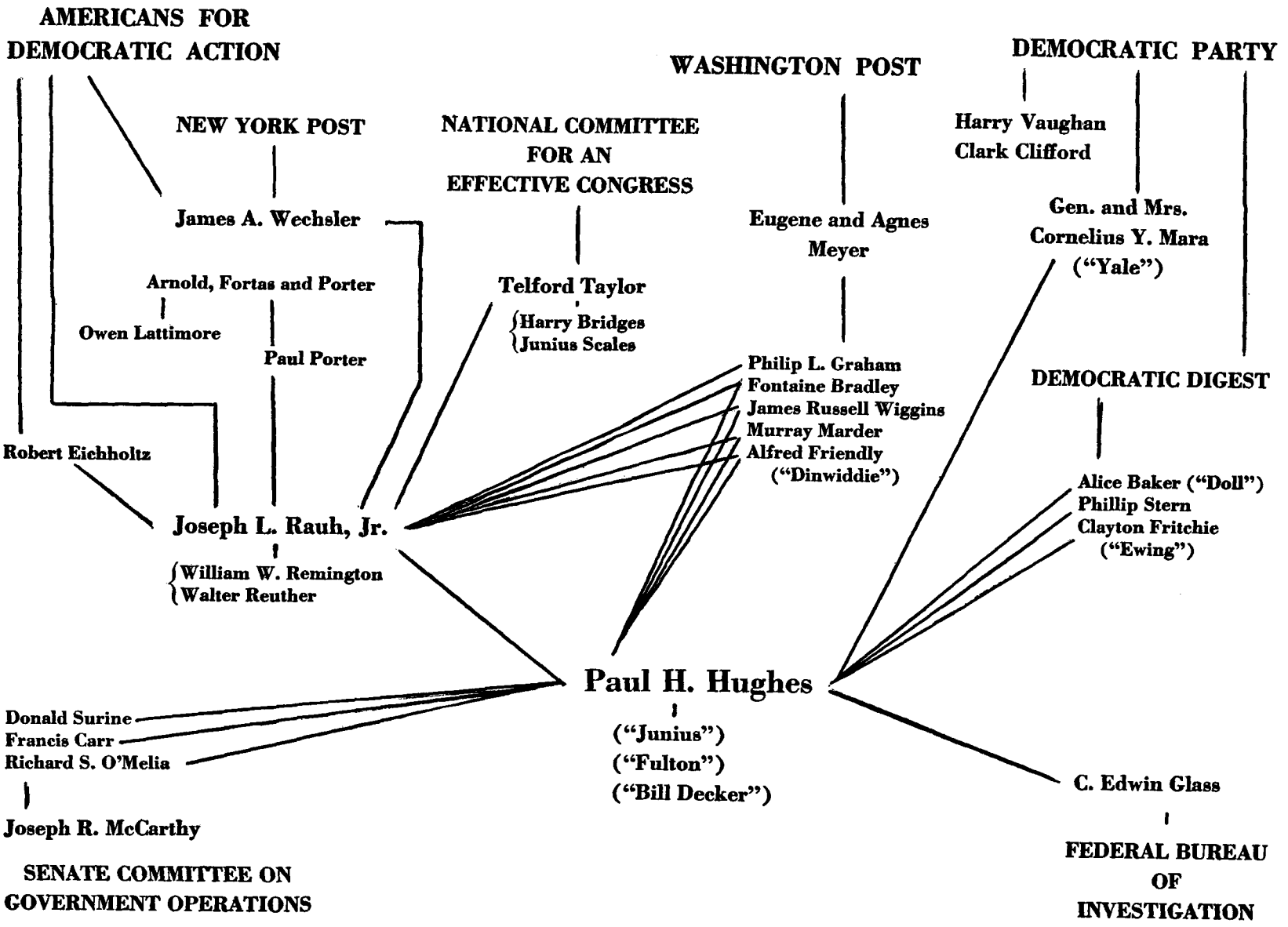
The Hughes Constellation



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he discouraged Hughes *at any point* from furnishing information about McCarthy of *no* legal consequence.)

Hughes told Rauh, a month or so after they had met, that it would be necessary to enlist the services of a trained investigator for occasional help in getting signed affidavits, tailing McCarthy informants, etc. He suggested his old Army buddy Bill Decker, and Rauh agreed. Bill Decker's activities figure in many memoranda, and in countless expense vouchers. Decker, it is now agreed by all parties, did not, in fact, even exist.

(Rauh—and the government, in the pending action—contend that Hughes took Rauh in, hook, line and sinker. Hughes maintains Rauh knew all along he, Hughes, was a phoney, but was prepared to indulge an obsessive hatred for McCarthy by purchasing and disseminating fabricated anti-McCarthy material. The fifth and sixth count of the indictment of Hughes relate to this point, Hughes having sworn to a grand jury that "in his opinion" Rauh knew what was going on, and knew, also, that Decker was fictitious.)

Rauh intended to spend the summer in Europe, but was determined not to lose touch with Hughes, who kept leading Rauh on with better and better tales about McCarthy. Rauh talked the matter over with the publisher of the *Washington Post,* Mr. Philip Graham, who agreed to cooperate—in anticipation of the privilege of publishing, when the evidence was finally in, a series of pieces on Senator McCarthy based on Hughes' reports. Graham turned the matter over to his managing editor, James Russell Wiggins, and his assistant, Alfred Friendly, to both of whom Rauh introduced Hughes before leaving for Europe.

Friendly maintains that he repeatedly told Hughes that

a) no one on the *Post* wanted anything to do with Hughes until after he had "resigned" from the McCarthy Committee, as the *Post* did not deal with secret informants;

b) the *Post,* like Rauh, was interested only in evidence that McCarthy was carrying on illegally.

However, a) Hughes and Friendly met repeatedly during Rauh's three-months absence, even though Hughes continued to pose as an active member of the McCarthy group; and, b) though Hughes kept promising that McCarthy would be caught performing an illegal act momentarily, he kept feeding Friendly miscellaneous and non-legal fabrications.

Early in August, Hughes alerted Friendly. This, he said, is it. McCarthy was about to send a representative to New York to purchase classified State Department material from an informant within the State Department—a clearly illegal act. It was only left to alert the Justice Department and McCarthy, through his agent, would be caught *in flagrante.*

Friendly got hold of Graham, and the two went to the Justice Department where they conferred with Attorney General Brownell and his assistant, William Rogers. Brownell

NATIONAL REVIEW'S Editorial Suggestions for Bringi

The Recording Angels

"Exactly! There's A Plot To Make Us Look Foolish"

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promised to cooperate by furnishing the FBI for the occasion. Friendly insisted upon getting (and got) the private number where Brownell could be reached at night, should Hughes telephone that the transaction was about to be consummated.

Friendly went back to Hughes, expectantly, but Hughes told him the New York meeting had been put off —most probably, he grumbled, because Brownell had in all likelihood gone right to Hoover, who had in all likelihood tipped off McCarthy.

In the course of the summer, Hughes said he needed more money for Bill Decker. The *Post* did not want such an advance on its books, but Friendly called on two friends of Rauh, Robert Eichholtz and Paul Porter, to put up $1,000 each "without asking any questions," until Rauh returned from Europe.

Rauh returned, and immersed himself, anew, in the project. In the middle of October Hughes announced that he had resigned from McCarthy's staff. Whereupon Friendly closeted himself in a hotel room with Hughes for three weeks preparing twelve articles on the mountain of "evidence" Hughes had furnished.

Shortly before completion of the series, Murray Marder, a *Washington Post* reporter, was assigned to make a routine check on those of the facts of the story that were verifiable. Marder went off in search of six persons who had signed affidavits, furnished and witnessed by the obliging Bill Decker. (The affidavits allegedly testified to the tactics used by McCarthy investigators in attempting to "extort" stories of subversion.)

To Marder's dismay, the witnesses simply didn't exist. Marder rushed to Syracuse University to interview a professor whose fathership of a bastard son McCarthy threatened to "expose" if he did not "cooperate." The professor did exist, but he did not have an illegitimate son; he didn't know much about McCarthy.

Marder went back to Washington and reported his findings. The series was killed and, in fact, says Friendly, physically destroyed. Everyone demanded that Bill Decker be produced. Hughes said Decker had double-crossed him, but even then he fell out of favor. Rauh told him to come back with Bill Decker.

It was the middle of November 1954.

Shortly after the public announcement by Harvey Matusow that he had perjured himself in his testimony against various Communists, Hughes met with the FBI and announced that he had strong indications that Matusow's reversal had been induced by Rauh, et al. He produced extracts from his diary during the hectic summer of 1954 in which, he said, he had jotted down suspicious references to Matusow he had overheard Rauh, and others, make.

Hughes was brought to New York in March 1955 to testify before the grand jury that was looking into the Matusow affair. He posed as an independent investigator who had, as

...me of "Herblock's" Best-Known Cartoons Up-to-Date

"Beat It. We're Getting Material For ~~McCarthy~~ Rauh"

"Here He Comes Now"

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clients, a number of VIP's. He produced the extracts from his diary.

The jury then called Rauh, Fritchie, Friendly, etc. To establish their own innocence in the Matusow affair, they were forced to give the details of their relationship with Hughes. The grand jury hauled Hughes back in May, when, under expert interrogation by District Attorney Thomas Bolan, Hughes cracked up and acknowledged that he had been selling faked evidence, and that he had used forged documents. However, he clung to his story about Matusow, and added that Rauh had "in his [Hughes'] opinion" known Hughes was not on the level and that Decker was a fictitious person, all along.

The grand jury indicted Hughes for perjury, the first four counts specifying that his four sworn statements, based on his "diary entries" (relating to mention of Matusow by Rauh, et al), were fabricated.

The Document That Sold Rauh

Mr. Joseph L. Rauh, Jr. testified that he told Paul Hughes (when Hughes introduced himself early in January of 1954) that he was interested in seeing what evidence, pointing to illegal acts by Senator McCarthy and members of his committee, Hughes had amassed in his capacity as an alleged secret investigator for the committee. Hughes assured Rauh he had got hold of such evidence, and would bring it in. A week or two later, Rauh testified, Hughes brought in a 94-page document, which, in the case of the *United States v. Hughes,* is marked Exhibit 5. The document consisted of a collection of reports Hughes had been sending over a period of two months to General Cornelius Mara and to Clayton Fritchie. On the strength of the document, Mr. Rauh entered into an arrangement with Hughes to report to him (Rauh) regularly on the activities of Senator McCarthy and the Permanent Investigations Committee.

The 94-page document is, in a sense, a work of genius. One might easily suppose, on reading it, that it was the work of a psychiatrist who sought, simultaneously, to assuage and to aggravate a patient of somewhat unbalanced political outlook. The salve was there—for here was confirmation in abundance of the *worst* one could imagine about McCarthy—and also the galvanizer—here was a call to glory, a call for superhuman exertions to destroy the monster McCarthy. There is something in the remarkable document that fed on, and then quickly nourished, just about every Liberal political neurosis of early 1954. Here were notes on secret correspondence between Eisenhower and McCarthy; on rivalries between the staffs of the Jenner and the McCarthy committees; plans to contact Gouzenko, behind the back of the State Department; a reference to McCarthy's alleged marital troubles; reports on a clandestine White House conference at which a smear campaign against the previous Administration was organized; a transcript of miscellaneous McCarthy animadversions on such disparate persons and things as Herbert Brownell, Air Force bases, Drew Pearson, ethics, and Leonard Hall; here were certain specific names of McCarthy informants, including his informant within the White House; excruciating teasers about informants whose identity had not been disclosed—such as the one who kept phoning in from the *Louisville Courier Journal;* and all this wrapped up in a disorderly package, sometimes illiterate, sometimes eloquent, always reeking with drama, and emitting a sex appeal irresistible to professional anti-McCarthyites.

The entire document, beginning to end, is fraudulent. (Until the ninth day of the present trial, Hughes had never set eyes on McCarthy!) It is based sometimes on half-truths, but mostly on whole lies. As a confidence man's come-on, aimed at persons with well-defined mental vulnerabilities, it worked miracles. It (and subsequent memoranda like it) tantalized Clayton Fritchie into dozens of conferences and into shelling out $2,300. It tantalized Joe Rauh into dozens of conferences and into shelling out $8,500. It tantalized the *Washington Post* into acting as middleman for some of the payments, into dozens of conferences and into allocating six weeks of their star reporter's time to preparing twelve articles based on Hughes' "evidence." It was a very successful smear indeed.

Extracts from the Document

Hughes summarizes Committee's illegalities (p. 3)

[Hughes accuses McCarthy's Committee of 1. doctoring and forging evidence, 2. suborning perjury, 3. suppressing evidence, and 4. illegal possession of classified material.]

In numerous instances, documentary evidence, obtained by McCarthy personnel, has been revised, changed in format, and reconstructed so that in its present final form it does not agree with the original in fact or concept.

Witnesses, who may or may not testify either in open or executive sessions, will perjure themselves at hearings. Affidavits previously given to McCarthy staff personnel are in direct variance with forthcoming testimony . . . .

Original data procured by myself, and others, has been destroyed so as not to conflict with future affidavits or other material to be obtained subsequent to procurement of the original data.

Top Secret and Secret (active) material is being obtained for use in coming events by surreptitious means and current instructions direct the use of surreptitious methods if deemed advisable . . . .

Hughes reports on a Staff Meeting of the McCarthy Committee (p. 10)

. . . [Francis] Carr [Executive Director of the McCarthy Committee] informed the personnel attending [the meeting] that the procedure of utilizing false statements for the purpose of shaking or confusing hostile witnesses would be permitted. Carr stated that McCarthy informed both he and Roy Cohn the day before, "Any methods, regardless of nature, placed into effect by members of my committee that produce results are ok. with me, and in the event of any repercussions, they will have my complete backing."

Senator McCarthy further stated, "Any trouble arising from law infractions by Committee personnel in the pursuit of Communists or security risks in Government, would not be pushed by any agency, civil or otherwise, for fear of being accused by us of being Communist sympathizers."

. . . Surine [Don Surine, Committee investigator] . . . stated that Mc-

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Carthy had stated to him earlier that week, "I am getting fed-up with all the legal technicalities in existence that prevent the introduction of vital material pertaining to some of our executive and open hearings."

I then brought up the question of just how far we would be permitted to go in our law infractions, and was informed by Surine, "Well, as far as I'm concerned, murder is about the only thing Joe couldn't justify."

Hughes admits he is stealing documents from Committee (p. 23)

There is at present lost in Room 428 [Senator McCarthy's office] Senate Office Building, a note from McCarthy to his Administrative Assistant referring to the Presidential ultimatum [an ultimatum to McCarthy from Eisenhower]. This will be furnished you when it's given up for lost.

Hughes instructs General Mara, Clayton Fritchie, Joseph Rauh, et al, on how to beat McCarthy: (pp 48-49)

What you apparently fail to realize is that there is only one successful way to decisively defeat McCarthy, and that simply is to use some of McCarthy's methods, but use them legally. McCarthy will not be defeated by extensive use of fair play, squeamishness, or by being naive. I do not contend that we should form our own OSS Bureau or violate the laws as frequently as McCarthy does, but it does seem reasonable to me that as McCarthy is presently violating some very serious military and civil laws, we should obtain photographs and written evidence and witnesses to that effect. The result of evidence of this nature is not only elimination but also prosecution by the Federal Government as well. You must make a decision relative to whether you want McCarthy removed permanently or not. If you do, it is relatively a simple legal matter. . . . To my way of thinking, the destruction of the McCarthy machine, and it is a machine, is from the inside. You now have the instrument to precipitate this, . . .

Hughes reports it will be easy to secure cooperation in his drive to trap McCarthy: (p. 50)

. . . There are many important military and civil officials in the Washington area alone willing to go to any extremes to remove McCarthyism from the political scene. Any coordination desired in this matter is relatively simple to obtain. Surely no obstacle exists in coordinated observation of me during my unauthorized procurement of classified material and my subsequent handling and disposition of same. Under coordinated but secure surveillance, observation will disclose that I surreptitiously procured [according to instructions by McCarthy] various amounts of classified data; the various offices in the Senate building where I disposed of the data; photographic evidence, controlled, will pinpoint McCarthy personnel receiving unauthorized classified material from me. Phone taps can be utilized initially, to tie in all illegal incidents performed by me to specific McCarthy staff personnel. Phone taps can be further utilized for admissions by staff personnel of security violations and compromises of classified military projects. Don't discount the tremendous value in just bargaining power of recorded phone discussions. Attorney General Brownell and J. E. Hoover have bargained successfully on many occasions with recorded phone tap conversations that under existing laws could not be used in other ways. To me, the matter of phone taps does not have top priority, but still should be placed in effect as soon as possible. . . . A program of this type, although not nice, can result in harm to no one except [McCarthy]. . . As mentioned earlier, being nice, too ethical, or squeamish, will accomplish less than nothing, where McCarthy is concerned. McCarthy has stated many times, "Ethics went out the window with buttoned shoes." So therefore I don't see the necessity for us to send a boy to do a man's work. If both Federal and civil law enforcement agencies use the same unethical procedures to bring to justice criminals, are we not justified in using similar methods to expose an organization guilty of the six offenses mentioned by me earlier in this recording? . . . let me restate that in my opinion, the only sure method of eliminating McCarthy is by proving legally McCarthy has on numerous occasions violated Federal laws. This, as stated earlier, is most easy to prove and document by relaxing somewhat on ethics. This perhaps is probably what I'm best suited for. After all, I've had two of the best teachers in the business—McCarthy and Surine."

Hughes transmits "testimony" taken during executive session of McCarthy Committee in New York.

"I am merely recording a portion of this one," wrote Hughes in the memorandum, "to give you an indication of the type of pressure and persuasion in effect during a one-sided executive hearing." (p. 59)

Mr. Cohn: Mr. Kolick, I still don't believe you are aware of the fact that you cannot be criticized by any one as result of information given in executive hearing.

Mr. Kolick: I believe I understand.

Mr. Cohn: We don't expect you to produce evidence. That's our problem.

Mr. Kolick: I understand, but anything I say is just my opinion.

Mr. Cohn: Opinions by you, substantiated or not, will allow the Committee to make accusations. After all, you may be right.

Mr. Kolick: I just don't know.

Mr. Cohn: It stands to reason you must have seen something suspicious in three years with General Electric. . . . You see, the more names we receive during the course of these hearings, the more pressure we can bring to bear in exposing Communists and security risks.

Mr. Kolick: Guilty, or otherwise.

Mr. Cohn: In this business, it's necessary to weigh the end results.

Mr. Kolick: I don't understand, Sir.

Mr. Cohn: A certain amount of discomfort is experienced by one or two as compared to exposing an espionage situation. Isn't that then justified?

Mr. Kolick: It seems sort of raunchy to me . . . .

Mr. Cohn: Of course, you are aware of the fact that we could publish your name as a hostile witness and most uncooperative to this committee?

Mr. Kolick: You mean I'd actually suffer personally for not committing libel?

Mr. Cohn: There is no such thing as libel possible.

Mr. Kolick: I can't tell you what I don't know, and as for the other, I still have to live with myself and my friends after you're through with GE.

Mr. Cohn: It seems as though you have developed the wrong approach.

Mr. Kolick: Is there a right one?

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NATIONAL TRENDS

L. BRENT BOZELL

Right-wingers have the reputation of seeing, if not a Communist, at least a statist under every bed. It is a reputation worth nurturing: statists *do* hide under the most unlikely beds. A case in point is the Harris-Fulbright natural gas bill—a measure hailed by its supporters as "a ringing affirmation of the principle of free enterprise" (its opponents, Liberals all, label it "legislation by and for Southwest gas producers" designed to "gouge the consumer").

For anti-statists, the basic issue in the gas fight is whether the federal government shall retain power to regulate the price of gas at the wellhead—a power that was granted two years ago by a Supreme Court amendment to the Natural Gas Act of 1938. But Congress is not fighting the battle along this line at all (as it did, for example, when it passed the Harris-Kerr bill in 1950). The Harris-Fulbright bill, in effect, *concedes* federal jurisdiction over wellhead sales of gas slated for resale in interstate commerce. The split in Congress is on the question whether federal control of gas production should be *indirect* (as the bill provides) or *direct;* no matter who wins, the Federal Power Commission will be able to fix the price at which the producer sells his gas.

The Natural Gas Act, as originally enacted in 1938, was designed to regulate an interstate monopoly, specifically the business of transporting gas across state lines. The FPC was given authority to determine the price at which gas could be sold by pipeline companies to local distributors. The Act exempted local utilities from federal regulation since they were already regulated by state agencies—as well as producers who then, as now, were fiercely competitive. With respect to the producers, Sec. 1 (b) of the Act said: "The provisions of this act . . . shall not apply . . . to the production or gathering of natural gas."

The FPC took the exemption at its face value, and consistently refused to assert jurisdiction over the production of gas. Nonetheless, by the late forties a number of distributing utilities and others were contending that, contrary to its language, the Act did *not* mean to exempt any producer who sold his gas for resale in interstate commerce. Accordingly, in 1950, Congress passed the Harris-Kerr bill in order to put the exemption beyond peradventure. President Truman vetoed the bill.

In June 1954, the Supreme Court rewrote, in the celebrated *Phillips* case, the Natural Gas Act and conferred on the FPC jurisdiction over producers' sales. The decision is possibly the most flagrant example of judicial legislation on record. With his customary ingenuousness in such matters Mr. Justice Frankfurter wrote, in a concurring opinion: "*Section 1 (b)* [the exemption] *is not to be construed on its face. It comes to us with an authoritative gloss. We must construe it as though Congress had, in words, added to the present text of Sec. 1 (b) some such language as the following:* . . ." Frankfurter then proceeded to enact the provision that Congress should, *in his judgment*, have incorporated in its law.

Following the Phillips case, the FPC began to regulate gas production. The Harris-Fulbright bill is Congress' answer. But the bill may have the effect of endorsing the Court's amendment, not of overruling it.

The bill does two things. It so defines "transportation of natural gas in interstate commerce" as to exclude from regulation activities (i.e., production) that occur *prior* to the delivery of the gas into pipelines. So far, the Supreme Court is reversed. But the bill then turns around and gives the FPC authority (at the time it passes judgment on the rates charged by a pipeline company to a local distributor) *to determine whether the price paid for the gas by the pipeline company is the "reasonable market price."* If that price exceeds the "reasonable market price," the pipeline company is forbidden to include the excess in its operating expenses—is forbidden, that is, to pass on the excess to the local consumer. The pipeline company will, of course, decline to stand the loss itself, and will therefore refuse to buy the gas at more than the "reasonable market price," as determined by the FPC. So the effect, it seems, will be federal control of all sales of gas for resale in interstate commerce —cf. the Phillips decision!

Statist opponents of the bill, notably Senator Douglas, insist that the "reasonable market price" provision does not give adequate "protection." The "market price," Douglas maintains, is precisely the thing that must be regulated; yet the bill directs the FPC to take it as a touchstone in passing judgment on resale contracts. Would that the statists were right! But the word "reasonable" is also there, and the Commission and the courts, unfortunately and predictably, will know what to do with it.

"In determining the reasonable market price," the bill says, "the Commission shall consider, among other things, whether such price has been competitively arrived at, the effect of the contract upon the assurance of supply, and the reasonableness of the provisions of the contract as they relate to existing or future prices." So there is more than sheer "market price" involved here—especially in the ominous phrase, "among other things." What "*other things*" may the FPC consider in arriving at the "reasonable market price?" Why, the reasonableness of the producer's rate of return on his investment; the reasonableness of his property valuation; of his rates of depreciation, amortization, etc. In short, the Harris-Fulbright bill may enable the FPC—through supervision of resales—to convert 8,000 competing gas producers into a public utility.

There is not much the gas producer can do, under the provisions of the bill, to defend himself. In the case of new or renegotiated contracts, he can either sell for resale in interstate commerce at the price fixed by the FPC, or, as some producers have been doing in recent months, divert his gas into *intra*state channels (to local utilities or to non-fuel uses, such as the manufacture of carbon black). But if gas is withdrawn from interstate commerce in substantial amounts, retaliatory controls of a more drastic nature are inevitable—consumers' prices will

(*Continued on p. 30*)

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How Kubitschek Happened

By accepting Army aid in a coup to ensure his inauguration, Brazil's new President has made himself answerable to the generals

CARLOS PEREIRA

If you had asked three different Brazilians last December who their legitimate president was, you would very likely have had three different answers. For on November 11 normally stable Brazil went her more temperamental sister republics one better with a coup that gave her three presidents almost simultaneously, not counting President-elect Juscelino Kubitschek, due to take office January 31.

Led by the Minister of War, Gen. Henrique Teixeira Lott, the coup ousted Acting President Carlos Luz, who was substituting for the ailing President João Café Filho. When subsequently Café Filho returned to the presidential palace, he found yet another president, Nereu Ramos, installed there under the aegis of General Lott and Parliament.

Generally when revolts break out in a country, people flee the capital to safer ground. Not so the Brazilians. Peace-loving by nature, they found the coup more interesting than dangerous. Many who were away from home flocked back to Rio just to see what was going on. Aside from the frightened foreigners, the only worried persons were those negligent housewives who had not heeded the warnings of their grocers to lay in an extra supply of food before the coup got under way. One Brazilian manufacturer told me cheerfully: "Thank God we have a little instability in Latin America. If everything went smoothly, we'd have Yankee manufacturers and businessmen all over the place."

Actually, Brazil has on the whole a fair record of political stability. From its independence in 1822 until 1889 it enjoyed a progressive and liberal monarchy. The republic, established by a bloodless revolution, has had its share of presidents who became dictators. The last, Getulio Vargas, after fifteen years of dictatorship elected to become a democratic president. He committed suicide in 1954 when the Army wanted to oust him because of alleged large-scale corruption within his regime. Since then the political situation has been uncertain. With last October's elections, the Vargas followers were back again.

It was those elections that unloosed the chain of events leading to the November coup. The defeated parties (the Christian Democratic Party, the National Democratic Union, and the Socialist Party) claimed that the victory of the Social Democratic Party and the Workers Party was won by election "fixes." They assembled evidence of irregularities, which was presented to the Supreme Electoral Tribunal. The Social Democratic and Workers parties countered with the accusation that the losers, especially the National Democratic Union, were preparing a coup to upset the democratically won election victory, and embarked on a vigorous "anti-coup" campaign of their own. (In Brazil the Social Democratic Party is center, the Workers Party left-wing and a political tool of the late President Vargas.)

A Deal with the Communists?

The crux of the controversy was whether the illegal Communist Party had influenced the election by proclaiming its support of Kubitschek's candidacy. (The Communist Party of Brazil had over half a million followers when it was outlawed in 1947.) The opposition parties maintained that there was a secret deal whereby the Workers Party paid the Communist Party a substantial sum for the promise that it would order its members to vote for Kubitschek.

Assuming there were no deals of this sort and that the victors had no reason to worry about the findings of the Supreme Electoral Tribunal, there seemed to be other, more subtle dangers. To Kubitschek's adherents the sudden leave of absence of President Café Filho because of a mild heart attack was highly suspicious. They held that Café Filho wanted to give the anti-Kubitschek forces an opportunity to get the upper hand and prevent Kubitschek's inauguration. Café's record, however, shows that he stayed scrupulously out of the controversy and that the inquiry into the elections was going forward through legal channels.

With the accession to the Acting Presidency of the Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies, Carlos Luz, the hopes of the election revisionists were raised. That part of the press advocating annulment of the results welcomed him warmly, though again there were no signs that he was plotting against the status quo. In short, the whole contest between Kubitschek's forces and the defeated parties was like shadow-boxing.

The coup itself was no surprise. The surprise was that it came from the so-called "anti-coup" forces. It was touched off by a dispute between War Minister Lott and Acting President Luz over an outspoken speech by an Army colonel who wanted Kubitschek's election cancelled. The colonel was guilty of violating an Army statute prohibiting political statements. But as a member of the War College he did not fall under the jurisdiction of the War Minister. The War College refused to discipline him. So did Acting President Luz. Whereupon War Minister Lott, regarding the President's failure to act as an affront to the Army and subversion of its discipline, resigned.

Within twenty-four hours after his resignation Lott had lined up his fellow generals for the November 11 coup against the Acting President. The motive was double: a) military-

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political; b) party-political. As for the first, the prestige of the colonels would have been enhanced if the Army had accepted the President's decision. This the generals could not abide, and they readily joined in the coup. In addition, Lott secured the support of the parties victorious in the elections, which had the majority in Parliament. On this point some well-informed circles in Rio asserted it was the other way around: that the political machine of President-elect Kubitschek enlisted Lott's support when it decided not to await the outcome of the judicial battle over the validity of the elections. They claim that when the Acting President replaced War Minister Lott with another general, the Kubitschek forces felt they were witnessing a gradual reorganization of the cabinet in favor of the revisionists. The incident over the colonel's speech enabled them to gain the adherence of some nonpartisan generals.

At any rate, the smoothness with which the coup was carried out would indicate that Kubitschek's backers in the Army must have been preparing it for some time. Adversaries of General Lott claim that secret Communist cells operating in the Army and working through the MMC (Military Movement to Preserve the Constitution) were also instrumental in lining up support for the coup. The fact that Kubitschek was the President-elect no doubt influenced the decision of the generals to side with him. It was the safest bet for them to be "in favor" with the incoming regime. The Communists' support of Kubitschek was motivated by the hope, if not the promise, that he would restore their legal status.

On November 11 the Army moved into a fighting position against the Navy and Air Force, which remained loyal to the Acting President. Army tanks advanced on the airport to challenge the Air Force. Acting President Luz and some of his cabinet members left Rio under Naval protection. The Air Force Minister took off for São Paulo to try to organize resistance to Lott's forces. In Rio the Army ordered all fortresses to shell and sink the cruiser *Tamandare* on which Luz had established his headquarters. Only the Copacabana Fortress obliged, taking care to miss the monstrous target. On board the *Tamandare* Admiral Penna Botto did not command his men to return fire. If he had, many lives would have been lost and the Copacabana Beach apartments destroyed.

After the Coup

Rather than embroil the country in fratricidal war, Acting President Luz surrendered the presidency and absolved the Navy and Air Force from the duty to defend his constitutional rights. After a short cruise, and consideration whether or not to organize resistance against their opponents, the Acting President, admirals and cabinet ministers peacefully disembarked at Rio. What might have been a bloody battle evolved into a carnival-like show. In Parliament each side accused the other of violating the Constitution. Throughout these proceedings, the former Acting President sat quietly in the Chamber of Deputies under a cloud of reproach on the part of his adversaries that he had left Brazil illegally. The basis for this charge was the allegation that the *Tamandare* had moved for a time out to the open sea.

Meanwhile General Lott did not remove his tanks from the Rio streets—which did not prevent the city's fun-loving people from going about life as usual. With typical good humor they summed up the whole situation with a play on words: In the presidential palace, they joked, there was no coffee (referring to President Café), nor light (referring to Acting President Luz, whose name means light), and the palace was *lotado* (occupied, referring to Lott).

Easy as it was for General Lott to occupy all strategical points in Rio and drive the Acting President out of the palace, it was difficult for him to justify his action. In Brazil the Military has a tradition of safeguarding legal order. Lott, therefore, was obliged to explain his coup in Constitutional terms. In this he was aided by the pro-Kubitschek majority in Parliament and by his party's press. They took the position that military action was necessary to prevent the anti-constitutionalist forces (as they termed the revisionists) from making a coup themselves. The motive for their coup, they maintained, was to assure the presidency for Kubitschek, legally elected in October.

Some papers indeed headlined the coup: "Democracy Has Won." That was hardly convincing with troops and machine guns in the presidential palace garden and the Acting President deposed. Furthermore, the leaders of this "legal" coup were unable to produce the slightest evidence that Luz had been involved in a plot against the existing order. The very notion was contradicted by the fact that he was allowed to keep his seat in the Chamber of Deputies after the coup. Nor was there evidence that any significant political group had been planning a coup to prevent Kubitschek from taking office in January. The opposition had merely insisted on a review of the questionable election returns. The Army's order unleashing the coup amounted, then, to this: Act illegally today in order to save legality tomorrow.

The irony of the November coup

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was that the Army, which had brought about the downfall of Vargas in 1954, was now allied with the ideological heirs of Vargas—the Social Democratic Party of President-elect Kubitschek and the Workers Party of Vice President-elect João Goulart.

On the whole, Kubitschek is fairly free of the old Vargas crowd. Around him are men of the new political generation. The Vargas crowd has not exactly disappeared, but is being transformed by new blood. (The notable exception is João Goulart, a young man of the old guard.) This metamorphosis gives the parties in power greater flexibility, and better fits them to follow the primary aim of their election campaign: economic progress.

This flexibility is, of course, limited by the Army. In Brazil there is no system of checks and balances between the various branches of the government, but the Army endeavors to contain the parties so that they do not go off in a direction contrary to what it considers "proper." To date there has been harmony between the Army and Kubitschek's majority in Parliament, which "legalized" the ousting of Luz and named Senate President Ramos Acting President. (Ramos was proposed for the presidency by Lott; in turn, he reinstated Lott as War Minister.) But Parliament is not the rubber stamp of the Army. It follows the command of its political leaders. These leaders needed "caretaker" men in the government to guarantee their taking over the Administration legally in January. To bring the new "transition" government into power they needed the Army.

However, there was a fact yet to be reckoned with. Café Filho was still the legal President of Brazil. Just as Kubitschek's parliamentary majority had got everything neatly "legalized" after Luz's "voluntary" resignation, President Café Filho announced that he was now recovered and would reassume his presidential duties. No one doubted that his first act would be to fire Lott. The Minister acted swiftly. His tanks surrounded Café Filho's private residence and the Special Police cut off his telephone. Kubitschek's majority promptly supported this action by declaring Café still "incapacitated." In answer, the President asked the Supreme Court to restore his constitutional rights for the two months he had still to serve. To block this move, General Lott declared a "state of siege", with the concurrence of the parliamentry majority. Censorship of the press and radio went into effect. The public was assured that the emergency measure would last only a month. But when that month had passed, the "state of siege" was extended for another month.

This irregular state of affairs cannot continue month after month, of course, and none knows it better than President-elect Kubitschek. Normal political life must return if he is to rally popular support. Political peace is essential if he is to carry out his economic program for Brazil. The question is: Will it be achieved by bayonets or by democratic parliamentary rule?

New Conflict Possible

A more far-reaching question is: Who will rule Brazil? On the pretext of preserving the Constitution the Army eliminated two presidents in two weeks. Having destroyed the fiber of democracy it can, if it chooses, also unseat Kubitschek or Vice President-elect João Goulart. Goulart is considered *persona non grata* to Army leaders, who detested the late Vargas regime and brought it to its end in 1954. Goulart was Minister of Labor in that regime, and he swore over the coffin of Vargas to avenge himself and the dead President. It is also common knowledge in Brazil that Goulart has been rather sympathetic to the Communists. According to the opposition press, it was he who bought the votes of the outlawed Communist Party in the October elections (Goulart emphatically denies this). Despite Lott's constant assurances that the Army will respect the will of the electorate, some generals have not forgotten Goulart's political past. Unknown to more than a few in Brazil, they made a hush-hush visit to Goulart's estate last November to try to persuade him to renounce the vice-presidency. Reliable sources report that the negotiations failed, but that Goulart propitiated the generals by promising to pursue an anti-Communist course. In this secondary controversy Kubitschek's Social Democratic Party has solidly supported Goulart. It could hardly do otherwise. To contest his right to office would only be to weaken the position of the President-elect.

A new political struggle may quite possibly break out in 1956: the Army versus Goulart. If so, Kubitschek's presidency would not necessarily be affected. He and his followers have proved adept at maneuvering the Army into eliminating real or imagined adversaries. Should the Army openly turn against the remnants of the Vargas regime (which Goulart represents) he might even welcome the action. He might prefer to have a government of economic and administrative experts and less a government of politicos from a past era.

Whether or not Kubitschek sticks to Goulart in the future, whether he leans on the Army or on Parliament, his regime will not alter Brazil's foreign policy. Her ties with the free Western world are too strong to be loosened by the recent dramatic chess game for the presidency, or even by Kubitschek's martial law type of democracy. The struggle for the presidency was not a manifestation of new revolutionary forces. It arose out of the vacuum created by the strong man's (Vargas') death. The new politicians felt so insecure that they called in the Army to help them assert their power; which in turn made them more answerable to the Army than they might have wished. But with all the cards in its hands, the Army is itself split on the Goulart issue. Whatever it does, Kubitschek has only one sure way to hold the presidency: to side with the Army. His calculated risk: the Army will comply with the will of the electorate, which may go against him.

However the political struggle turns out, the best assurance that democracy and moderation will finally prevail lies with the Brazilian people themselves. Even if they are unable to influence directly the actions of the ambitious generals or of the top political figures, they really determine the spirit of the country. This spirit inspired Admiral Penna Botto not to shell the Copacabana Fortress, it influenced the soldiers not to fire a shot to kill, and it will also insure moderation in the unfinished struggle for power.

The road back to democracy will not be easy. The Army's present conduct is a serious stumbling block. Kubitschek may discover to his regret that to regain democracy is more difficult than to lose it.

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Now They're for Stevenson

At least fifty-two members of Mrs. Roosevelt's "Stevenson for President" Committee, including Mrs. Roosevelt, have sponsored Communist fronts

J. B. MATTHEWS

If there had ever been any doubt that the militant support for Stevenson's second try comes from left-of-center Liberals, it was removed by the announcement of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt's "Stevenson for President" Committee.

The question arises: does Mr. Stevenson share the views of his supporters who divide their energies between backing his candidacy on the one hand and backing Communist causes on the other?

Here are some samples of their Communist-front affiliations:

In her role as Mrs. Abou Ben Adhem, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt led the list of fellow travelers who supported the regime of Tito in the days when he was a main agent of the Kremlin. The American Committee for Yugoslav Relief included the following members of the Stevenson-for-President Committee: Tallulah Bankhead, Helen Gahagan Douglas, Melvyn Douglas, Marshall Field, Fannie Hurst, Mrs. Edward M. M. Warburg and James P. Warburg.

Among Mr. William T. Andrews' affiliations with pro-Communist enterprises: the signing of a petition under the auspices of the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder, sponsorship of American Youth for Democracy, and a speech for the National Negro Congress—three organizations cited as Communist by the Attorney General. Andrews also signed a Manifesto of Negro Leaders against the outlawing of the Communist Party.

Tallulah Bankhead was a sponsor of the National Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism, which was organized and controlled by Communists.

Mrs. Samuel L. M. Barlow sponsored the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, the organization which financed the conspiratorial operations of Gerhardt Eisler and whose leaders served prison terms for contempt of Congress.

Shelton Hale Bishop has been affiliated with at least ten organizations cited as Communist by the Attorney General. He was also an initiator and signer of an amnesty appeal for the eleven convicted members of the Communist politburo.

Claude G. Bowers, former U. S. Ambassador to Spain, participated in the anniversary celebrations of the Communist Party's Workers School by presenting a paper for the occasion. His book on his ambassadorial experiences, bitterly critical of the anti-Communists, is distributed by the Communist Party's Liberty Book Club.

Bennett Cerf has been affiliated with the Council for Pan American Democracy, the American Committee for Spanish Freedom, the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, and the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, all of which have been cited as Communist organizations by the Attorney General. He was also a signer of the brief *amici curiae* on behalf of the "Hollywood Ten" who went to prison for contempt of Congress.

Gordon Clapp, former general manager of TVA, was a sponsor of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, an organization found to be a vehicle for Communist propaganda by the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security.

Marc Connelly, of Broadway and Hollywood fame, has been affiliated with at least six organizations cited as Communist by the Attorney General, including the Hollywood Writers Mobilization, National Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners, the League of American Writers and the Workers Alliance.

Maurice P. Davidson has been affiliated with the League of American Writers, the United American Spanish Aid Committee and the American Russian Institute—all cited as Communist by the Attorney General.

Helen Gahagan Douglas, former Congresswoman, has been affiliated with the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship and the Win-the-Peace Conference—both cited as Communist and subversive by the Attorney General. Mrs. Douglas also sponsored the World Youth Conference which launched the World Federation of Democratic Youth, an international Communist apparatus for the young.

Marshall Field, publisher of the Communist-line paper, *PM*, sponsored a testimonial dinner for Ferdinand C. Smith (who was later deported from the United States as an alien Communist). Field also sponsored the Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship and the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax.

Lloyd K. Garrison, former general counsel of the National War Labor Board, was a national committeeman of the International Juridical Association, an outfit whose other officers were such notorious Communists as Abraham J. Isserman, Lee Pressman and Nathan Witt.

Moss Hart was an initiating sponsor of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions. Among the many Communist enterprises which he sponsored were American Youth for Democracy, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, and the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

John Hersey sponsored American Youth for Democracy, which was but

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a new name for the Young Communist League. He has also been affiliated with the China Welfare Fund, an organization supporting the Red regime of Mao Tse-tung. He was a member of the board of directors of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, and a participant in the activities of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

Ira A. Hirschmann has been affiliated with the following organizations designated as Communist by the Attorney General: American Council for a Democratic Greece; National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions; League of American Writers; Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee; United American Spanish Aid Committee.

Fannie Hurst has supported the following Communist enterprises: American Council for a Democratic Greece; Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee; National Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism; Medical Bureau and Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy; Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade; National Council of American-Soviet Friendship; American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

George S. Kaufman was affiliated with the following Communist fronts: Committee for the First Amendment; Writers and Artists Committee for Medical Aid to Spain; Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee; National Committee for Peoples Rights; International Labor Defense; American Committee for Spanish Freedom.

James H. Robinson's pro-Communist affiliations were so extensive that the State Department denied him a passport in 1952. (While the Department subsequently relented, and renewed his passport, it was not because his numerous affiliations were disproved.) Robinson signed the petition nominating Benjamin J. Davis for the New York City Council. Davis is one of the eleven members of the Communist politburo convicted under the Smith Act.

To sum up: at least fifty-two members of the Stevenson-for-President Committee have records of Communist-front affiliations. Does Mr. Stevenson have something to say on this subject?

ON THE LEFT . . . C. B. R.

New Front. A new, Communist-inspired front is about to be born, the Provisional Committee for Justice in Mississippi, with another list of Liberal dupes as sponsors. At present it is merely a letterhead, with desk space and an answering phone service at 113 West 42nd St., New York City. Hugh Mulzac, close sidekick of the deported Communist Ferdinand Smith, is secretary.

Attention: Robert M. Hutchins. The Civil Rights Congress which has just folded up as a result of bombardment from the Attorney General, raised more than $1,000,000 in bail for Communist leaders, plus hundreds of thousands of dollars for the defense of Communist cases. Jailed trustees of the Congress bail fund included Frederick Vanderbilt Field, scion of the Vanderbilt family, and mystery writer Dashiell Hammett.

Legal Apologetics. Harold J. Berman, professor at Harvard Law School, is authority for the theory that a "tremendous law reform movement" is under way in the Soviet Union. These changes, according to the learned professor, would include safeguarding the rights of accused persons during pretrial periods, curbing arbitrary arrest and prosecution of Soviet citizens, right of counsel for accused persons at "some stage of the preliminary investigations," more independence of the investigating official from the state prosecutor, and the lightening of certain penalties. Professor Berman is no newcomer in the field of Soviet apologetics. In 1950 Harvard University Press published his book, *Justice in Russia*, in which he declared:

> Soviet law cannot be understood unless it is recognized that the whole Soviet society is itself conceived to be a single great family, a gigantic school, a church, a labor union, a business enterprise. The state stands at its head, as the parent, the teacher, the priest, the chairman, the director. . . The parental character of Soviet law sets limits to the arbitrariness of state action.

Misinformation. Grosset and Dunlap's New Dictionary carries the following definitions. Communism: "A classless system of society in which the community or government owns the means of production and aims at an equitable distribution of wealth." Communist Party: "A working class party whose program is based on Marxist principles and whose ultimate aim is the establishment of communism."

Matter of Taste. Collaboration between German Communists and former Nazi leaders and organizations is rampant. For example, former SS Gen. Ebrecht, founder of the Arbeitersgemeinschaft Nationale Wehrfragen, called an "All German Soldier's Day" meeting in East Berlin, at which Field Marshal von Paulus recommended the pro-Communist *Die Nation*. Fares to East Berlin were covered by the Communists. Among the ex-Nazis recently released by the Soviet Union were Otto Wagner and Field Marshal Ferdinand Schoerner.

Lester B. Pearson. The *Daily Worker* praises Canadian Secretary of State Lester B. Pearson for proposing in *Look* magazine that Communist China be recognized. The Communist mouthpiece agrees with Pearson that the Soviet leaders "are not plotting all-out military aggression." Both admire the "candor and realism of the Soviet leaders." Stressing that his strictures of American foreign policy are made in the spirit of a "good neighbor," Pearson declares in his book, *Diplomacy in World Politics*, that "it is significant, and worth reflecting on, that it is a basic plank of Communist propaganda throughout Asia—and one to which thousands of Asians have given credence—that the West has nothing to offer but technology; no philosophy, merely plumbing; Coca-Cola for Confucius." This is the same Mr. Pearson who granted a passport to the convicted traitor and Communist spy, Fred Rose. Pearson has stated that he considered Herbert Norman a "trusted and valued member of our department." Norman has served as Canada's high commissioner in New Zealand. He has been cited as a Communist in congressional hearings. Elizabeth Bentley in her testimony has referred to Pearson as a source of information to the American Communist spy ring.

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Foreign Trends . . . w.s.

The Long-Range Shivers

The Foreign Offices of the Western world are, more than ever, utterly inhospitable to "long-range" thought. There seems to be a premium on diplomatic nearsightedness and, at any rate, the well-advised career-hungry young man at the Quai d'Orsay assumes exactly the posture of his opposite number in London, in Bonn, in Rome, in Madrid, in Washington; namely, a mien of refined obtuseness, of a shoulder-shrugging "Who can tell?", of cheerful resignation to "the problems at hand." To hell with tomorrow! *This* is what one wears! Anybody who thinks beyond the day is a boor and must accept the consequences.

Nor is this fashion arbitrary. Not unlike the individual who builds a defense mechanism of forgetfulness, the social organism, too, develops areas of almost deliberate insensitiveness: if certain prospects are frightening beyond the available capacity for punishment, we act as if we were not aware of these prospects. Thus, the West's Foreign Offices have practically outlawed "long-range" thinking.

And yet, some of the old craftsmen among the career officers can conform to these fashionable standards only up to a point. Their minds, trained to function competently, go on functioning, at least privately. If one meets these aging craftsmen outside their offices, they sometimes open up, "off the record." And, if they do, it does not really matter whether the talk takes place in Paris or in Madrid or in Washington; for, more impressive than any single statement, a glaring sameness underlies the private apprehensions of *all* old experts. And this is the tenor of their amazingly identical thought:

The world is going—fast, and the Russian way. Unnoticed by us (at least officially) the Soviets, during the last year, have made absolutely decisive progress toward their strategic goal—to choke the West by cutting off its non-European windpipes. This is *one year's* Soviet balance sheet in that strategic respect:

in Asia, Indo-China irretrievably lost for the West; no one can any longer prevent Red China from entering the UN: Quemoy and Matsu quietly conceded by the U.S.; the Formosa regime on its way to provincial neutralization; India, in turmoil, fast slipping from Nehru's arrogantly clumsy hands; Pakistan begins to reconsider its alliance with the West; Burma "neutralized"; Japan fast expanding its trade with Red China;

in the Middle East, Egypt cooperates with the Soviets; the Arab states teeming with enmity against the U.S.; Israel maneuvered into suicidal defiance; the U.S. immobilized between Zionist pressures and growing apprehensions of Arab retaliation;

in Africa, the French Empire uprooted; the triumphant nationalist movement in Algiers and Morocco slowly turning Communist; the U. S. military bases in North Africa untenable;

in South America, the Brazilian C. P. has almost achieved governmental respectability; post-Perón Argentina ready for "popular front" penetration;

in Europe, France on its way to "popular front" government; Italy *ditto;* West Germany, anticipating Adenauer's death, gets ready for "talks" with East Germany; Austria "neutralized"; Finland *ditto;* Scandinavia *ditto;* Yugoslavia returns to the fold; Turkey begins to reconsider its NATO position; Greece *ditto;*

in the U.S., "spirit of Geneva" determines official conduct and public opinion; Stevenson running against an Eisenhower Republican guarantees perpetuation of said "spirit"; atomic superiority gone; deterioration of traditional preparedness; ahead: either the self-centered smugness of protracted prosperity or the self-centered panic of bust.

Yes (continue the old craftsmen), what gives those contemporary day-by-day calculations a dimension of ghastly unreality is the assumption that the world, from here on, will forever remain in the blessed state of prosperity. Keep in mind that the Soviets made all these gains in a year of world-wide *prosperity,* when everybody was politically on his best behavior! And then you can imagine the pace and the depth of Soviet gains in a panicky year of world-wide *recession!* But is it conceivable that the West will be *spared* that complication?

It is (conclude the old craftsmen) as if the Soviets had signed a pact with the Devil and as if we had been jinxed: *everything* goes their way! But it's neither Devil nor jinx. It's simply that they *do* have long-range objectives and we have *not.* As any old craftsman can remember, a foreign policy which has ambitions beyond the preservation of peace has *always* won over a foreign policy which has no other ambition. It's almost a law of nature—and it certainly is a law of history.

At this point—just when the time has come to project last year's unequivocal trends into the near future—the impressive sameness ends and every old craftsman withdraws into his pet predictions. The tendency to believe in a personal dispensation from death is amazingly strong, even among realists; and many an old craftsman swears that his particular country will resist to the last. And so, perhaps, it will.

Warning for Senators

We understand that several Senators, appalled by the painful and disgusting travel experiences of their colleague, Senator Malone, are planning to stipulate certain clever conditions for any future trip to Soviet Russia; among other things, they are going to insist on a visit to a concentration camp. Which is pretty shrewd—but not shrewd enough when dealing with the Soviets. As a matter of fact, the Russian Communists, in anticipation of some such sophisticated Western gambit, have prepared a special concentration camp which, after some coy gestures of reluctance, they are perfectly willing to show to distinguished visitors — Krukovo Camp, about 25 miles outside of Moscow. Krukovo has been organized and equipped for just this one predetermined purpose — to fool shrewd foreigners who insist on seeing a concentration camp.

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The Scholarly Journals

FRANK S. MEYER

Symptoms of Mass Delusion

It is, I hope, with all due modesty that I present this month an original clinical finding of some significance. The available evidence has forced me to the conclusion that the social scientific profession, particularly those of its members who lean upon psychoanalytical theory, have been for a number of years suffering from a clearly defined malady that exhibits the classical symptoms of mass delusion.

A delusion is characterized, in general terms, first by the inability to recognize the true character and cause of some aspect of reality, and secondly, by the substitution of a fantasy for that aspect of reality, a fantasy that is often very elaborate, well-knit and self-consistent. Thirdly, both the rejection of reality and the insistence upon the fantastic explanation are highly charged with emotion and maintained with great intensity. Nor is a delusion less a delusion if it is held by a large number of people; it becomes a mass delusion.

The concept of mass delusion is, indeed, frequently called upon by social scientists and psychoanalysts to explain actions and attitudes which are, or seem to them to be, irrational. They should, therefore, be able to avoid falling victim to delusion themselves. The fact of the matter, however, is that over the past few years, sociologists, political scientists and psychologists have been developing, elaborating, and earnestly improving a theory about the political behavior of the American people that has all the attributes of a fantastic explanation of a phenomenon, the true nature of which is as plain as the nose on your face.

Millions of Americans followed Taft's leadership; millions admired MacArthur; millions supported McCarthy's drive against Communism; and millions exhibit a desire for an alternative to the dominant Liberal control of both political parties. And the very existence of this phenomenon (which they call McCarthyism) has a traumatic effect upon the consciousness of the social scientists. After twenty-five years of the welfare state, of Deweyite education, and of control of press and radio and television by the "enlightened," it simply should not be. Like the individuals or peoples whose delusions they dissect, the social scientists of the Establishment have run into a brute fact of experience which controverts their whole vision of the world.

Unable to accept the clear and obvious explanation, that tens of millions of Americans are in principled opposition to their position, they have constructed an explanation which will account for the facts, which they cannot escape, without disturbing their emotional equilibrium. Not ideas, not principles, nothing by which a reasonable man could be affected, could possibly be the cause of this intractable resistance to the good, the true, and the beautiful. It is only the unfortunate fact that a certain "personality structure," a sort of psychoanalytical original sin—"the authoritarian personality"—has affected a large number of our fellow citizens, if not from birth, at least from the period of weaning and toilet training. Since all political, economic and social propositions that form the accepted corpus of Liberal thought are beyond intellectual doubt or question, the only explanation of dissent must be, in the Liberal fantasy, a psychological defect, approaching, it is often hinted, paranoia.

Even Margaret Mead, who has done her share to bring about the present attitudes of the behavioral sciences, seems to have misgivings at the length to which this development has gone. Writing in *The American Scholar* (Summer, 1955), she observes of an article typical of this trend (Richard Hofstadter's "The Pseudo-Conservative Revolt," in the same journal, Winter, 1954-55) that he, like others, ignores "the state of the world in favor of parochial explanations which invoke individual personalities —McCarthy; McLeod—or less specifically identified Texas millionaires; or, more diffusely still, old-Americans losing ground, or new-Americans worrying over just having won it . . . Hofstadter invokes the psychoanalytically oriented, German-modeled, authoritarian personality study, in which the character structure of lower-middle-class Americans is equated, with a disregard of cultural differences, with the character of lower-middle-class Germans as prone to victimize the weak . . . There might be no atom bomb, no hydrogen bomb, no explicit insistence on a polarized world, no Communist China to alter the attitudes of the American people . . ."

It is this triumphant production of a deep-psychological explanation for the obvious which gives one the sensation of dealing with the victims of a mass delusion as one reads the papers of the "psychoanalytically oriented" social scientists. With a sickening reversal of meaning, which reminds one dismayingly of "newspeak," every sign of individualist or traditional resistance to the tyranny of contemporary conformity is attributed to "the authoritarian personality."

"The Authoritarian Personality"

This concept, which dots the pages of the journals of sociology and political science, is derived from the study published in 1950, to which Miss Mead refers, *The Authoritarian Personality*, by T. W. Adorno, Else Frenkel-Brunswik *et al.* The study utilized the most approved and up-to-date techniques of clinical psychology—psychological interviews, "projective" questionnaires, etc.—interpreted in the light of psychoanalytic theory. The "projective question" is an engaging little device. It is designed to trap the interviewee into revealing his unconscious personality through questions apparently directed toward his conscious beliefs. The psychoanalytic investigator, knowing the secrets of the human heart, manipulates the answers, with card index and IBM machine, in the light of his interpretive theory, and emerges with a conclusion. The conclusion is always in the form of a "correlation."

Correlation is the ritual word, and its action is supposed to derive truth from the collected data. The difficulty is that so few of the infinite factors which go to make up any human personality can be "tested," that the selection of the factors to be tested and of the correlations to be measured

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are completely at the mercy of the theoretical attitudes, implicit or explicit, with which the investigator begins. This is one of the reasons why the study of man in society can never be a science. The real issues of importance are inherent in the presuppositions; and it is at this non-scientific, philosophical, intuitive level that discussion is most valuable. But this is the one level at which the truly "scientific" social scientist refuses to discuss. He prefers to correlate.

Thus, the authors of *The Authoritarian Personality* begin with the assumption that anyone who is opposed to the welfare state is likely to be "unenlightened" about science and religion; to accept the authority of an organic moral order; to hate Jews and Negroes; to have an unconscious desire to grind the faces of the weak; and to respect his parents. And, Glory be, after all their exercises with projective questionnaires and clinical interviews, with the intercorrelation of their PEC (political and economic conservatism) scale, their AS (anti-Semitism) scale, their E (ethnocentrism) scale and their F (implicit prefascistic tendencies) scale, out pops the stereotype built into the system from the beginning: "the authoritarian personality," composite of the above traits—complete with a moral upbringing and strict toilet training.

Exercise in Exorcism

I am primarily concerned, however, not with the weaknesses of the study itself, but rather with the way in which the concept of "the authoritarian personality" has become the answer to the social scientist's need of a construct to explain to his emotional satisfaction the "irrational" obstinacy of those who do not accept the blessings of the welfare state. I shall, therefore, not here develop in further detail my criticisms of the methodology and validity of *The Authoritarian Personality*. As a matter of fact, so dubious are its procedures that aspect after aspect of the study is constantly being criticized by the sociologists themselves. A book recently published, *Studies in the Scope and Method of "The Authoritarian Personality,"* edited by Richard Christie and Marie Jahoda, contains devastating analyses of almost every element of its methodology. The various contributors attack its sampling procedures, bias in the setting of questions, bias among the interviewers, theoretical distortion of the results. Yet, somehow they maintain throughout a tone of enormous respect for the study and its conclusions. This is an interesting point, and one characteristic of the multifarious articles which take those conclusions as a major premise in further discussion. They lean upon the thesis that conservative political and economic attitudes today have no relation to rational ideas, but are simply the result of a personality structure which is characteristic of the Nazi, although they are admittedly well aware of the scholarly shoddiness of the study from which that thesis is derived.

Richard Hofstadter, for example, in "The Pseudo-Conservative Revolt," already referred to, coolly says: "While I have drawn heavily upon this enlightening study, I have some reservations about its methods and conclusions. For a critical review, see Richard Christie and Marie Jahoda, eds., *Studies in the Scope and Method of 'The Authoritarian Personality' . . .*"

But that critical review contains such statements as this: "a major finding of *The Authoritarian Personality* —the demonstration of a syndrome of attitudes of political conservatism and authoritarianism, as revealed by the formal statistics of a correlation between the numerical scores— could instead reflect the mere fact that the PEC scale and the F scale both contain questions which are basically similar in content."

And it is exactly upon the conclusion that such a syndrome exists, that the political and economic conservative ranks high on the F scale, has fascist leanings, is an "authoritarian personality," that Mr. Hofstadter's whole exercise in exorcism of the right-wing opposition in America depends. Even if the establishment of the stereotype of an "authoritarian personality" rests on shaky foundations, it plays too great a part in the delusionary system of Mr. Hofstadter and his fellow Liberals for them to give it up.

The New American Right

While one finds "the authoritarian personality" turning up in all sorts and varieties of articles, it is in discussions which impinge directly upon problems raised by the survival of an opposition, where the Liberal psyche has most at stake and where its delusionary system is most desperately needed, that it becomes omnipresent. Over the past year or two a number of such articles have appeared. Now the most touted of them have been collected in a book called *The New American Right,* edited by Daniel Bell, where anyone with a morbid interest in the pathology of the Liberal social-scientific mind may read them at his convenience. I recommend it as an objective confirmation of my analysis of the neurotic plight of that mind. Every contributor to this collection—Richard Hofstadter, David Riesman, Peter Viereck (that sterling conservative), Talcott Parsons, Nathan Glazer, S. M. Lipset, Daniel Bell—blandly ignores the possibility that there could be any real issue of a rational kind in American politics today which would justify the existence of an opposition, and proceeds to a sociological-psychological analysis of the extraordinary fact that there is one.

The book is haunted by "the authoritarian personality," sometimes manifesting itself directly, sometimes disguised as "status anxiety." It explains everything and makes it possible for a group of leading scholars to write essays which ignore every important substantive question in the field with which they are dealing. So anxious have they been to close and seal the controversies of the last twenty-five years, to fix the nation once for all in a Byzantine New-Dealism, sanctified by the canon, "You can't turn the clock back," that they have convinced themselves that in very fact the issues *are* closed. When, then, overwhelming evidence to the contrary accumulates, reality becomes too much for them to support. They take refuge in a collective neurosis, conjuring up the demon of "the authoritarian personality" to give substance to their delusion.

Individual delusions, or even such harmless mass delusions as Millerite adventism or flying-saucer cults hurt no one but their devotees. A mass delusion like this one, however, which affects the corporation of intellectuals so widely, is a matter of general concern. This ferocious maternal protection of what they want to believe, in irresponsible defiance of reason and understanding, is the true *trahison des clercs*. It creates between the intellectuals and the rest of society a schism which portends ill for civilization.

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ARTS and MANNERS

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

Mr. Sean O'Casey's several claims to originality include the fact that, among contemporary playwrights, he is the only one who *admits* membership in the Communist Party. He loves it. He also loves the English language (which on occasions requites his feelings), life in general, the downtrodden and poor, the clichés of symbolism, and the Irish at their most obvious. Sharing some of these loves with Mr. O'Casey, and others not, I approach a new O'Casey play with trepidation. It's like going out with a mentally disturbed person: one never knows at what inopportune moment the wretch will insist that he is the Emperor of China.

Mr. O'Casey's latest play, *Red Roses For Me,* has received the most handsome production a Communist play has been treated to on Broadway in years, and for whole minutes I didn't mind being in the theater at all. The actors, to be sure, wear the Irish brogue the way teenagers wear falsies —proudly and self-consciously, that is, and not for a minute at ease. But one understands most of them, most of the time—which is not an unmitigated blessing.

For Mr. O'Casey is, of course, sending a message, and he is sending it, this time, with a special triteness that is very embarrassing in the proximity of so much unmistakable talent. But before I go into this fascinating problem (how on earth a creative man can so wholly fall for a plainly stupid position, and thereby break his neck) I first must sweep the platform which, when it comes to O'Casey, is cluttered with Atkinsonian cant.

Mr. Brooks Atkinson, who swears he can't tell a Communist from an ingenue, is of course fatally impressed by Sean O'Casey—and one would respect this reverential cramp even more if Mr. Atkinson's critical instincts didn't, *each* time, collapse on meeting a Communist author. He can't help it, poor Mr. Atkinson. It's an obsession. Some people smoke reefers, some people go for cross-eyed girls, and Mr. Atkinson can't say no to a Communist. But we shall go into that some other time. Today let us stick to the Atkinsonian contention *in re* Sean O'Casey. To wit: only an uncouth Philistine would pay attention to O'Casey's political whims; the truly civilized, culture-soaked, theater-minded and altogether Atkinsonian man doesn't give a damn what party Mr. O'Casey happens to prefer.

As usual, the poor Liberal, so anxious to repulse the "anti-intellectual" cohorts, ends up on the hilariously wrong side. For it is of course Mr. Atkinson, and not I, who negates Sean O'Casey as a mind; and to negate a writer as a mind is to negate him as a writer. Mr. O'Casey (be it said to his credit) has always made it perfectly clear that he himself considers his affiliation with Communism the most important intellectual event of his entire life. And how *could* it be a whim—for a writer? The amateur, low-brow and anti-intellectual, visualizes the writer as a mere receptacle for a commanding demon's pronouncements—a Trilby, in a trance, not ever really knowing what he is doing. The writer, of course, has not even an accidental resemblance to this debased stock figure. A writer is an articulate mind, capable of anticipating the consequences of an intellectual supposition. A writer who can't think is like a painter who can't paint—an absurd chimera.

I take Mr. O'Casey primarily as a Communist because I take him seriously as a writer. And Mr. Atkinson, who implores you to discard O'Casey's dedication, is anti-intellectualism personified—that vulgar and sticky and painfully sentimental anti-intellectualism which thinks of writers as "entertainers" and of the world of the spirit as a vast Coney Island for the paying plebs. And, in particular, how any one could take *Red Roses For Me* as anything but a primarily Communist play surpasses my understanding.

As far as I could make out (Mr. O'Casey's eloquence, often turning into logorrhea, is quite an obstacle), the play means to say that it is sweet and honorable (*"dulce et decorum,"* etc.) to die, not for *patria,* but for a union on strike. Well, I am perfectly willing to let everybody die the way he wants to. What disturbs me is the priggishness which Mr. O'Casey bestows upon his hero (attractively played by Mr. Kevin McCarthy).

Ayamonn Breydon, you see, who (like *all* union organizers since the dawn of *Proletkult*) is immediately beloved by anyone who touches him, throws his girl out for no other reason than that she tries to talk him into scabbing. Now this I resent. Even if that Sheila Moorneen were less pretty than Miss Joyce Sullivan makes her appear, I would still stand up for the colleen. And so, I should think, would Mr. O'Casey who, at first, introduced Ayamonn as a prince among all those lovely proletarians, a true lover blessed with profound comprehension. Surely, in that case, Ayamonn ought to have understood Sheila's confused motives, patiently taught her a lesson or two in class consciousness, and finally led her toward that blissful bullet. Mr. O'Casey has disappointed me.

And not for the first time. Like anybody else who has an ear for verse, I am fond of Sean O'Casey's way with words. He is a craftsman, and sometimes a sorcerer. He is also a Communist. That is, his every word serves what he himself considers a higher purpose. As a good Communist, he despises (even more than I do) the bourgeois who produce and applaud his plays. Up to this point I have no quarrel with him—except that I propose to erase everything he stands for (and *vice versa*). But I am each time flabbergasted (and secretly pleased) when I see how O'Casey, gone Communist, neglects his considerable talent.

Yes, there is something in Communism that attracts the talented. Perhaps it is the femininity of the artist which, insanely perverted, for a depraved moment craves the cynical killer. Whatever it is, so many talented fall. But, in falling, they break their wings. Sometimes the wings heal, and then the writer takes off again—like André Gide, and Ignazio Silone, and John Dos Passos. Sometimes the wings don't heal. And then the talent atrophies and the greatly talented writer dies—like Sean O'Casey and Bertold Brecht. It's a fascinating and deeply reassuring phenomenon.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

Mr. Hutchins as Prophet

RICHARD M. WEAVER

For a generation Robert M. Hutchins has been calling educational sinners to repentance, and no man can fairly deny that he has been a major prophet of our time. What has raised him to this high eminence is a peculiarly clear grasp of the relationship between liberal education and the practice of democratic government. Although this relationship requires no complex demonstration, the American people have yet to see it, if we are to judge by their educational choices and expenditures. Liberal education is specifically the education of the man and the citizen. In a democratic state the common citizen is vested with the ultimate power of decision; his is the final determination of policies which affect him in the unit and the mass. And, hopefully or ominously, there is no higher court of appeal; if he votes himself trouble, he cannot, according to the theory at least, expect to be saved by a more knowing elite. This being the case, there is no excuse for not training him as a thinking man. He needs for his career as a citizen those disciplines which train the mind in the interpretation of evidence and the discrimination of alternatives. He needs some knowledge of history because being a provincial in time is at least as dangerous as being a provincial in space. In sum: he needs initiation into the habit of philosophy. That courses in history, literature, mathematics, logic and rhetoric will provide this, whereas courses in truck-driving, drum-majoring, cosmetology and even nuclear physics will not, should need preaching only to a misled or perverse generation.

In *Great Books: the Foundation of a Liberal Education* (New York: Simon and Schuster, $3.00) Mr. Hutchins returns to this theme with a few fresh applications. The Great Books conserve the intellectual and spiritual tradition of the West; they are centrally related to liberal education; their "infinite suggestiveness" makes them better suited to study by adults than by the young; and a recovery of their wisdom is the best means—perhaps indeed the only means—of finding a basis of understanding with the renascent East. Again, as one can see, he is looking at the larger perils of our cultural crisis, and he is laying it on the line.

This last reminds us that, apart from the substance of his thought, Mr. Hutchins has one qualification as prophet which cannot be overlooked. Like the prophets of old, he is prepared to damn completely. There can be no shilly-shallying in prophecy. Search the Old Testament, for example, from end to end, and you will not find a single prophet who was a "liberal" in the modern sense. To the real prophet, right is right, and wrong deserves hell-fire and damnation. There is never that middle ground into which the modern Liberal loves to crawl to avoid any meaningful commitment. By his position, furthermore, the prophet always implies that "he that gathereth not, scattereth." During his long career as an educational leader, Mr. Hutchins has mercilessly beaten over the head those relativists, pragmatists, presentists, and anti-metaphysicians who were greasing the skids for the disappearance of liberal education. In this respect, he has never been a Liberal, but a voice, and, in his own phrase, "no friendly voice."

After describing Mr. Hutchins as a qualified prophet in these terms, I must introduce one grave demurrer. A wise man has written that the word of a prophet is a *deed*. Well, when one turns from Mr. Hutchins' words to his deeds as administrator and as director, one encounters singular and unexpected failures. His words have often not issued in deeds, or they have issued in deeds that appeared to break faith with the words. I seldom think of this aspect of his career without recalling the lines that a court wit is said to have pinned to the door of the bedchamber of Charles II: "He never said a foolish thing, and never did a wise one." Of this there are so many examples that a severe critic might insist upon "Failure" as his epitaph.

Did this come about because the pressure of events worked inexorably against his high ideals? I do not believe that exculpation is so easy.

Mr. Hutchins has always been disarmingly candid about his own lack of education, and he has in fact written "The Autobiography of an Uneducated Man." I do not feel, however, that he has told us where the deficiencies of his education really lie. He has no education in common life. Despite his earnest concern with the salvation of the average man through liberal education, I see little evidence that he has understood him. Santayana once wrote that if John Stuart Mill had ever learned in what the common man, who was the object of his solicitude, found his happiness, he would have been chilled to the bone. I think Mr. Hutchins would be chilled to the marrow. As a general consequence, a figure who should have been a great public educator has progressively alienated his public.

This ignorance I refer to led Mr. Hutchins, as well as many of those he gathered about him at Chicago, into too great a dependence upon dialectic. Dialectic is altogether a logical process; it is concerned with definition of categories and the drawing out of the implications of prop-

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ositions. It is most necessary, but it is not all. It has to be supplemented by rhetoric, which is an accommodation of the existing passions of men. And although Mr. Hutchins is no mean rhetorician in his own area, he seems not to have contemplated the role of rhetoric in his analysis of social tendencies and situations. In this connection it could be pointed out that the chief criticism levelled at the Hutchins plan at Chicago was that whereas it provided tremendous intellectual stimulation, it afforded little means for emotional and social maturing. Social man is to a considerable extent rhetorical man.

The obsession with dialectic has produced, among other things, a naïveté about Communism. By the dialectical process one can easily arrive at a definition of Communism, but without some understanding of the sphere of rhetoric, one fails to grasp its impulse, and its impulse is the fact we have to deal with practically today. It is one thing to say what it is in the manner of a dictionary; it is another to discern its inner motivation and predict its movement. This has led Mr. Hutchins into confusions like his ridicule of "guilt by association," which flies in the face of the ancient principle of folk wisdom that "Birds of a feather flock together." The common man absorbs that long before he begins to read the Great Books.

In this volume recommending the classics to the adult population of the Western world, Mr. Hutchins calls reading the Great Books the Great Conversation. The phrase is a good one, and let no man stand in the way of such reading. I only fear, on the basis of the record, that a great conversation presided over by Mr. Hutchins would be dialectic alone. That means that it would be carried on in a realm of great abstraction; many would be called but few would choose to enter. Dialectic by itself can be destructive, as when it erects systems that deny common perception, common feeling, and the wisdom of tradition. A humorless dialectic was midwife to Marxism.

What Mr. Hutchins says about liberal education and its relation to the great books is unquestionably the truth. But the complete educator must still ask himself whether it is the whole truth.

Terrestrial Hurricane

Boon Island, by Kenneth Roberts. 275 pp. New York: Doubleday and Company. $3.75

The facts upon which Kenneth Roberts has based his new novel are starkly simple: one December night in 1720, a cargo ship coming down the Maine coast under the pummeling of a northeaster struck a rock and foundered. In the terror that followed, fourteen men somehow got off the ship and huddled together in the freezing darkness on what they took to be the mainland. When morning came they saw the truth. Their ship had vanished, and they were isolated on a tiny, boulder-strewn ledge six miles off shore, without shelter, food or fire, and without means of signaling for help.

How ten of them survived the next twenty-four days until rescue arrived is the substance of *Boon Island.* It is a short book, with no heroine, no swordplay, no bedrooms. Some of the details are as keenly harrowing as anything I've ever read, and any reader who may, like myself, expect this to be just another adventure yarn, should be warned. Whoever can read to page 118 without honestly shuddering has the empathy and nervous system of a mummy.

There was no fire, and though the gale winds and zero temperature never abated, no heat of any sort except what the human body itself generated. For food, there were mussels, frozen seaweed, a few bits of cheese, a strip of rawhide, one seagull, and finally, when the ship's carpenter died, a rationing of raw, human flesh. For drink, there was slightly salty ice, and for shelter, a tent improvised of canvas shred and flotsam. For medicating frostbites and open sores, there were lavings of warm urine and poultices of human kidney fat. For the rest, there was what we inadequately call the human will to survive.

Under extreme external adversity, the finer nuances of character, the more ambiguous shades of gray in human psychology, disappear. Only the crudest, most powerful, and least refined impulses remain. A man has guts, or he hasn't. Hence if the men on Boon Island seem flatly drawn, too easily divided into the sheep and the goats, this is actually a just presentation.

It is significant that the greatest human portraits in literature inhabit orderly, peaceful surroundings: St. Augustine's cell, Jane Austen's tea table, Chaucer's Tabard Inn. There was no terrestrial hurricane blowing when St. John of the Cross studied the dark night of his soul. And what could Proust have written if he'd witnessed the Titanic disaster?

When men face outside tribulations —falling bombs, slave camps, lightning, or the weather on Boon Island —their complex inner life is suspended. For once a black and white psychology is *not* an oversimplification. There are only two human types: those who survive, and those who do not. ROGER BECKET

Mr. Rodell's Roman Holiday

Nine Men: A Political History of the Supreme Court from 1790 to 1955, by Fred Rodell. 338 pp. New York: Random House. $5.00

This book tells you what the United States Supreme Court did and what it dodged doing on issues of great significance, and fixes responsibility for these acts and refusals to act on particular judges. I came away from it convinced that I know a great deal about the likes and dislikes of Mr. Rodell, but unwilling to trust his statements about the character and quality of particular judges and his suggestions and assertions about the social consequences of their behavior. I do not recall ever before having read a book purporting to be of scholarly character in which the preferences of the writer were so frequently and boldly injected into description of what took place.

The best service I can perform for the book's prospective readers, I think, will be to indicate the mood and manner that characterizes the author's discourse from start to finish.

First, Mr. Rodell many times offers for fact things which I believe to be unknowable. He asserts that members of the Court, when Chase and Ellsworth were influential, trampled "on the civil liberties of a *majority* whose political views they despised and

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sought to kill"; before his appointment to the Court and while employed in the Department of Justice, Tom Clark "supervised without wincing" the evacuation of Japanese from the West Coast. Justices Minton, Burton, and Clark, present members of the Court, have a "tame and timorous conception of their job—scared by legal precedents, scared by native Communists, scared to say No to the other branches of the federal government in the name of liberty."

Second, many of his conclusions are inadequately supported by evidence, and I suspect some of them of being contrary to evidence. To illustrate: John Marshall "thought the nation and its government should be run by and for his kind, his political and economic class—meaning, of course, the creditor-capitalists, the Federalists, the financial conservatives." As a member of a state legislature and Congress "he developed an impatient mistrust of legislatures, with their inefficiencies and their bending to the winds of popular will." But Mr. Rodell does not mention the fact that, thirty years after he went on the Court and five years before he left it, Marshall made, in the Virginia constitutional convention, one of the strongest pleas on record for the enfranchisement of propertyless people, saying that nowhere could the right of creating and remoulding civil institutions at will be more safely deposited than in people who were not freeholders.

Third, objective analysis by the reader is hampered throughout the book by the injection of words, phrases, and sentences that appear to have no purpose except to cause the reader to accept the author's evaluations. If Mr. Rodell likes a judge, he uses words about him that invite respect and esteem; if he does not like him, he uses words that invite disrespect and even contempt. If Mr. Rodell likes a court decision, wisdom, personal honesty and devotion to public welfare triumphed; if he does not like the decision, prejudice, stupidity, and sell-out to class or special interests took over.

The book was written by a partisan, and it may delight those who fight by Mr. Rodell's side. When he slams a conservative, he does it with dispatch, precision, and a resounding whack. When he denounces Supreme Court justices for not protecting Communists from the government, he really mauls them. CHARLES S. HYNEMAN

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Record-Straightener on Japan

The Far East, 1942-46, by F. C. Jones, Hugh Borton and B. R. Pearn. 589 pp. New York: Oxford University Press. $14.00

This is a basic book in its field, but not an item for the lay reader. Rather it is a source book for students who want a meticulously documented account of all the areas of the Far East that were directly involved in World War II. If it contains little that has not been published previously elsewhere, it is nonetheless a useful collation of otherwise widely scattered information.

No brief review can comprehend the scope of the work, so let us merely note a few points of general current interest. One has to do with the date, December 9, 1941, two days following that on which the policies of Franklin Delano Roosevelt had achieved the debacle of Pearl Harbor, when we heard the famed fireside Voice twist history to declare that Japan's way "has paralleled the course of Hitler and Mussolini." Japan, as every high school boy knew, had in fact launched its drive for empire some time before Hitler attained power, and even longer before Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia.

The Voice continued: "It has become more than a parallel. It is collaboration . . . It is all of one pattern." This also was false, though the proof, here as in many another matter, had to await the aftermath of the war. But this book thoroughly documents the proposition that the Japanese had not known in advance that Hitler was going to attack Russia, and that Hitler was ignorant of the Japanese blow against the U.S. until it had become a *fait accompli*. In fact, says Mr. Jones, the utter lack of collaboration between Japan and Germany was one important cause of their defeat.

Secondly, the book sets straight the record concerning the surrender of Japan. Although Premier Tojo at the time of the Potsdam Conference was unwilling to accept the talismanic formula of "unconditional surrender," he had already asked Moscow (with which Tokyo still had a non-aggression pact) to obtain the best terms possible from the U.S., "and the Japanese Government were prepared to pay quite a high price"—to Russia. Meanwhile Truman and Stalin were personally discussing a Soviet declaration of war on Japan, with the Russians wondering—in Mr. Jones' view—whether the new President really intended to let them have the spoils of a Far Eastern conflict, offered by Roosevelt at Yalta. In any event: "If Truman did not intend to honor Roosevelt's promise, the Russians now knew that they could extract all that Roosevelt had promised, and perhaps more, from Japan."

We well know what happened, but it is commonly ignored that the Potsdam surrender terms to Japan contained many conditions, including the "unconditional surrender" of "all Japanese *armed* forces"—which made sense in the valid, and original, use of the phrases by General Grant. And when Japan accepted on the additional condition that the Emperor's "prerogatives" would not be prejudiced, Washington formally established his prerogative to "authorize and ensure" the terms of surrender.

Finally, as for the major implication of this R.I.I.A. survey, it is admirably expressed by the general editor, Arnold Toynbee, in his introduction. He points out that the Japanese conquest at its crest—as extensive as that of Alexander, more than that of Napoleon or Hitler—was "ephemeral," but still "made history"—"in the sense of ruling out, decisively and

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permanently, all possibility of return to the psychological *status quo ante* in that part of the world . . . For Japan's divine mission, if she ever had one, had been to put down the mighty Westerners from their seat, and not, as it turned out, to exalt her own presumptuous self."

The ultimate historical moral is Montaigne's dictum: "Good does not necessarily succeed evil; another evil may succeed it, and a worse one."

WILBUR BURTON

False Premises, Sound Institution

Aims of the United Nations. Introduction by James T. Shotwell. 79 pp. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. $2.25

1954 Annual Review of United Nations Affairs, edited by Clyde Eagleton, Waldo Chamberlin, Richard N. Swift. 252 pp. New York: New York University Press. $4.50

Proposals for Changes in the United Nations, by Francis O. Wilcox and Carl M. Marcy. 537 pp. Washington: The Brookings Institution. $5.00

These three books, though written and published independently of each other, all attempt to pass in review the original aims, the present activities, and the future of the United Nations. They have, moreover, a common set of premises: a) that the UN is desirable; b) that the UN's basic concept is realistic; and c) that the UN is ultimately perfectible.

These premises deserve to be made clear and pondered deeply. "The problem of security is the central problem of our time, and of all time to come," writes Professor Shotwell. Peace and security, he adds, "are more than vague and distant aspirations of the United Nations: they are the terms of its most insistent program." Wondering a little whether one can value security all that much and yet be free, we turn to the 1954 *Annual Review,* and find Dr. Fried saying that "in the Middle East, in Europe, in the Far East, and in Latin America—in short everywhere—there is the possibility of war." But this, he points out, is no reflection on the UN, and, in any case, "the willingness of the states to go on grappling with many of their problems through the United Nations must be listed as an asset."

Wilcox and Marcy are less tendentious. In scholarly detachment they describe existing proposals for changes in the UN, hostile and friendly alike. Even their scrupulous neutrality breaks down, however, when the UN itself, changed or unchanged, is under discussion. The United Nations, they say, was based on certain assumptions: that the great power victors would not quarrel among themselves, that they would agree on peace treaties with Germany and Japan, that economic and social postwar problems would be solved reasonably soon, and that future wars would be no worse than wars in the past. All of these assumptions, as they must know, have been belied by events. In a word, they have proved false. But the authors remain convinced that the institution based on them is worth having around.

GERHART NIEMEYER

Paradise Found

Utopia 1976, by Morris L. Ernst. 305 pp. New York: Rinehart and Company. $3.50

This is a book which we should either toss aside as a fantasy devoid of literary merit or study carefully as a perfect example of the *best* type of Liberal thinking.

Mr. Ernst is not so naive as most of his fellows: he sees that a government which guarantees welfare must become totalitarian despotism, admits that high income taxes serve only to gratify the envy of the masses, understands that Marx was a vindictive mattoid, and even concedes for a moment "that people in a democracy often prefer to be equals in slavery rather than unequals in freedom." But he is, on his own confession, "a *glandular* optimist," and bemuses himself with the old Rousseauistic fancy that "Man is potentially good and tender, limited only by prior environment." So he happily notes that the Americans are becoming "a wealthy proletariat," and prophesies that within twenty years we shall be living in an Earthly Paradise produced by complementary miracles of Science and Good Will.

There is, for example, no danger of overpopulation because Science will provide an infallible and pleasant means of preventing conception, and Good Will will make everyone limit his offspring for the good of society. There will be no war because a) atomic bombs would kill people, and human beings "are more afraid of killing than of dying," and b) we must show faith in the "United Nations" by "further concessions of sovereignty." And so we shall dwell in a *Paradis artificiel* more wonderful than the phantasmagoria described by Baudelaire, for "science will educate our political leaders" and "the guileless will come into their own."

All this is presented as sober and rational discourse by an intelligent and sincere Liberal. Evidently there was no arguing with his glands.

REVILO OLIVER

Yardstick for Failure

William Randolph Hearst: A New Appraisal, by John K. Winkler. 325 pp. New York: Hastings House. $5.00

Occasionally evasive, frequently myopic, this is nevertheless a competent biography of America's great baron of the daily press. No amount of good will, however, can make of Hearst a heroic figure. Since his phenomenal success was attained by demagogic journalism, he necessarily appears as a Sorcerer's Apprentice, overborne by the forces he himself had set in motion. Well in advance of the Democratic conventions of 1912 and 1932 he identified Wilson as a narrow-minded prig and Roosevelt as, at best, a supple hypocrite "unworthy of public or private trust." But he was unable to prevent the nomination of either, and consequently used his vast influence to promote the election of both. Of both compromises with his conscience, to be sure, he repented, but too late. In 1935 he saw at once that the scheme of taxation devised by America's frantic rabble-rouser was "a bastard product of Communism and demagogic democracy." Yet even today, after twenty years of bitter experience, his admiring biographer is impelled by fear or superstition to call "almost hysterical" that simple statement of the obvious. Such is the measure of Hearst's failure.

R. P. O.

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To the Editor

The reading of Pyrrho's sane and soothing analysis of Soviet economic potential (January 11) prompts me to emphasize one of your own conclusions: "There is something drastically wrong in the way that our official and semi-official intelligence agencies arrive at their findings."

It was common knowledge during this writer's twelve-year stay in Russia that approximately one third of the country's industrial production went to the junk pile (*brakovanié*) before it left the factories. Not a single five-year plan has been fulfilled, regardless of all claims to the contrary published even in this country. The two sorest spots are collectivized farming and an unbalanced heavy industry geared to armaments production. The permanent scarcity of consumer goods engendered passive resistance in both rural and urban populations.

Even a grammar-school American boy should know by now that Soviet statistics are systematically stuffed. They can not be relied on to arrive at a true estimate of the system's limping economy. There is every reason to believe Soviet leaders are now faced with mounting internal unrest. NATIONAL REVIEW is right in suggesting that U.S. official appraisal of Soviet claims and boasts be re-examined and that American foreign aid need not walk with its eyes wide open into a trap.

Congratulations to you for an outspoken, informative and thought-provoking publication.

New York City REV. LEOPOLD BRAUN, A.A.

The article on the Russian economy [by Pyrrho] was extremely interesting and well done. . . .

The proponents of foreign aid . . . seem panicked by the success achieved by the Russians. . . . Their reaction can be boiled down as follows: We have spent billions on foreign aid (with, at best, only modest success in gaining friends and allies); the Russians have recently come into the field with offers of aid measured in millions (with great propaganda effect and, apparently, considerable success); therefore, it follows, we should greatly increase our foreign aid spending to counter the Russians. I think even a grade school boy could point out the inconsistencies in that argument. . . .

WILLIAM P. GORDON

Rockville Centre, N.Y.

Anyone who knows the Russians will agree with Pyrrho's estimate of their inability to deliver. But in your news comment, you say we must therefore tighten present trade barriers (against Iron Curtain countries). This seems to suggest that "interventionism," which I am sure you deplore in domestic affairs, is proper in the foreign field.

Spring Valley, N.Y. RALPH COURTNEY

Thank you for your "Arts and Manners," Mr. Schlamm; it helps. For us who can only feel and think, with no way to express ourselves, it is a blessing that a few can do it, and at least we are still allowed to read. To speak of Truth and Beauty is pretty dangerous these days, and to be for them is risky . . . if one needs to make a living. Be a Phoney or Phizzz. . . .

Butler, N.J. MRS. SMITH JELLIFFE

. . . I devour every word and chuckle over many items. . . . Thank you for the REVIEW. It is so healthy, so fearless. . . .

Nantucket, Mass. ETHEL R. LYMAN

Someone sent me a copy of NATIONAL REVIEW and I think it one of the most intelligent compilations I've read . . . .

That men running for office, especially high office, are sacrosanct is one of the mental soporifics used to destroy the national will. No one is telling our people they have been disenfranchised . . . [when] the Liberals (gentle word) have captured the machinery of both parties . . . .

Los Angeles, Cal. HAZEL RUSH PECK

NATIONAL REVIEW, I feel safe in predicting, may ultimately prove to be the nucleus around which we conservatives can coalesce and express ourselves politically. It is my firm conviction that until such time as . . . conservatives impress upon both the Republicans and Democrats that we are a political force that cannot be dismissed lightly, we will remain adrift in a Liberal sea.

New Rochelle, N.Y. RICHARD KIER

Apropos your rejoicing at the Ford Foundation's half-billion-dollar distribution to schools and hospitals, I would call your attention to the fact that this action appears to have been precipitated by the adverse publicity received over several months by previous Foundation activities—which, if continued, will only make this magnanimous gift (tax-deductible) a sop to counteract other reprehensible activities.

Washington, Ind. A. G. BLAZEY

NATIONAL TRENDS

(*Continued from p. 16*)

rise sharply, statists will demand federal intervention, Congress will force producers to sell to out-of-state consumers and, thus, to submit to federal regulation. In the case of a long-term contract with an "escalation" clause, the producer will have no alternative but to sell his gas at the price permitted by the FPC.

Why, then, are gas producers supporting the Harris-Fulbright bill? The truth is that it is the very best they can hope to get. And *that* is the real measure of the statists' victory. Beyond this, producers believe the bill provides a temporary respite. The present FPC, almost alone among the federal regulatory agencies, seems to look kindly upon competitive business; thus gas sales at the *actual* market price may be possible until the courts intervene—or until present Commission members either get replaced or start behaving like other bureaucrats.

Supporters of the bill rightly contend that the answer to high prices is not federal regulation, but more gas. Since 1945 consumption of natural gas has doubled, while reserves have increased by only one-third. Regulation discourages the investment of high risk capital needed for new discoveries. This is more than conjecture: in the past eighteen months, with federal controls in force, additions to gas reserves have decreased alarmingly from averages of recent years. Supply can keep pace with demand only if producers are allowed to realize the price established by the free market. It is no minor disaster that the only instrument politically available for the implementation of free enterprise theory is the Harris-Fulbright bill.

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